Constructing Musical Associations through Instruments: The Role of the Instrument Maker in the Maker-Instrument-Player Network within the Neo-Medievalist Gothic Music Scene

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I, William Klugh Connor, III, hereby declare that this thesis and the work presented within it is entirely my own. Where I have consulted the work of others, this is always clearly stated.

Signed: ___________________________________________

Date: _____________________________________________
Abstract

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Many studies of musical instruments have shown the ways in which instruments embody and negotiate cultural and social significance and meaning, but little of this work has focused on the makers of those instruments. According to Alfred Gell, artisans infuse “intentionalities” into their wares that embody the agency of the artisan. In this thesis, I address the agency of makers of musical instruments to gain a better understanding of the roles they play in defining how instruments acquire their social and cultural meanings. These meanings are constantly in flux and, in turn, inform the maker’s decisions and assist in formulating a maker’s role within a musical community. Makers interact with community members primarily through the construction of their instruments as part of what I have called a Maker-Instrument-Player network. Drawing on Actor-Network Theory, I outline some of the ways in which musical instruments afford associations and engender exchanges within a musical community, and I unpack the complexities of the maker’s role. Based on ethnographic case studies which feature contemporary builders of early music instruments and performers of neo-Medievalist Gothic music with whom they interact, I examine the agency and impact of instrument makers on musical processes. This includes analysis of playing techniques, concepts of authenticity and historical accuracy, perceptions of modernity and tradition, sensibilities of craftsmanship, the economics and marketing involved, and the physical attributes of the instruments themselves.
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Chapter One
Instruments Build Their Makers, Too
– An Introduction to the Maker-Instrument-Player Network

“Instruments don’t play music; people do.” (Taruskin. 1995:305)

This is the sentiment that Bruce Haynes puts forward in his discussion of the ways in which performers of Early Music\(^1\) formulate their performance style (Haynes. 2007:153). It is a logical assumption, taking into account that music performance is initiated and undertaken by players, but he goes further to say that musical instruments have little bearing on the formulation of the styles performers construct and embrace. Perhaps this is the case in the context of historical accuracy within certain performance traditions and that, primarily, it is the players who decide what their performance styles will be; as humans, they possess the agency necessary to make decisions and engage them, not inanimate objects, which is the point Haynes is trying to make. In a larger context, however, instruments have a much greater influence on the musical community in which they are played, even as inanimate objects. Musical instruments are “non-neutral” however they are used and they are “entangled objects” that embody various aspects of cultural and social value (Dawe 2001:223) as well as assist in constructing “meaning and aesthetic power in performance” (Stobart 2006:73). Musical instruments can embody a variety of traits through which they may take on cultural and social importance, such as market value and status, constructing ethnic identity, strong historical associations, and their influence on genre performance preferences or constraints. The ways that musical instruments come to afford these dimensions is a complicated and often fluctuating process. Players cultivate an instrument’s traits and pluralistic connections through a multitude of interactions. The most prominent

\(^1\) For much of my thesis I use a definition of “Early Music” as commonly perceived by my informants, that being music written before Bach or pre-common-practice performance style music, but here Haynes refers to music written before an era where recording performances was possible to document stylistic trends of the time.
interaction, of course, is performing upon them, but connections also occur through social, cultural, and nostalgic associations. These associations may take the form of highly intimate, personal experiences to broader nationalistic or ethnic identity constructions. This highly involved network of connections between instruments and players unpacks to reveal far reaching associations and elements beyond the scope of the player’s immediate interactions with the instruments. Other agents besides the players are at work in creating the associations surrounding musical instruments, and these agents form a web of social ties through which an instrument’s traits are negotiated and maintained. By addressing the question of to whom else does this agency belong and returning to the logic through which Haynes and Taruskin point out the agency of the players in performing the music played upon musical instruments, there is another paramount human agency that informs the cultural, social, historical, economic, and acoustical traits of an instrument: the people that build them. One could say, “Instruments do not build themselves, either; instrument makers do.”

The agency of builders is embodied within the instruments they make. An instrument maker’s construction decisions and sensibilities significantly contribute to and draw from the ways in which this network between players and instruments evolves and extends to their surrounding musical communities. Stobart points out that “sometimes highly effective feedback mechanisms exist between [players and makers] where innovations in construction both enable and respond to shifting performance possibilities and expectations” (Stobart 2006:73). Makers, through the construction of their instruments, engage material, social, and cultural realms (Dawe 2001:225); realms in which the players, members of their musical community, and the instruments themselves develop and interact. Akin to Dawe and Dawe’s study of guitar makers in Spain (2001:226), the aim of my thesis is to unravel the role of the instrument builder to gain a better understanding of what Dawe calls “the forces and mechanisms operating within and converging upon” the makers and
the musical community around them with whom they interact. This study differs from Dawe
and Dawe’s research in one major area, however; here, I concerned with the physical
manifestations of these forces and mechanisms within the construction of the instruments
they build and the impact of the manifestations upon the musical community in which they
appear.

To do this, instead of concentrating entirely upon social and cultural traits, I will also
focus on the ways in which the construction of musical instruments embodies a maker’s
agency in order to “map out” their connections and therefore shed light on the role the
instrument builder plays in what I call the “maker-instrument-player” network. Gaining a
better understanding of this role will help weigh the importance of musical instrument
makers’ agency in the evolution and maintenance of musical aesthetics, genre performance
sensibilities, and related cultural associations.

**Actor-Network Theory and the Agency of Musical Instruments**

In order to more fully determine and inspect the interactions and influences of
instrument builders, it is useful to employ some theoretical models and concepts that can
offer suggestions on how to proceed. The obvious approach is to engage makers of musical
instruments directly with interviews, apprenticeships, and commissions in the hopes that
they can articulate exactly what they perceive their role in their musical community as
being. This is, of course, a valid and necessary methodology, but it is not the only one and
perhaps not one with which my research should begin. It may be problematic to rely initially
on a maker’s articulation of creative endeavors through verbal communications. Sennett
explains a myriad of hurdles over which a craftsperson must jump in order to recount their
knowledge of hands-on experience and sense of quality to an apprentice that suggest the
need of communication beyond oral transmission (2008:78). Apprenticeships may go
beyond this barrier with a move towards use of body language (both socially and
educationally) (Herzfeld 2004:128), but without preparing properly for field work of this
nature, the risk of overlooking important information or processes is far too great. Approaching a maker with a commission (as Merriam did in 1969) would be helpful in seeing the ways makers handle construction suggestions or economic challenges involved with direct interactions with players, for the communication between maker and player can unveil much about the maker’s involvement, but here again, preparation is needed as well as a proficiency of performance on the instrument commissioned to be able to intelligently engage in construction and commission decisions. This is an expensive and specialized approach and as I am a percussionist of specific genres and types of instruments, this may narrow my data gathering possibilities to exclude a commission of an instrument as a beginning research methodology.

An alternate approach, since agency is the main focus of this thesis, should be to observe other members of a musical community that possess agency. Haynes and Taruskin privilege the agency of players over other members of the musical network and Dawe, Stobart, Merriam, among others, and I argue that makers also wield considerable agency in music related processes. There is a third agent at work in the core of the network, as well. Latour recounts that certain early material culture scholars and sociologists upheld that humans possessed the entire agency that determined cultural values and traits, and objects were merely conduits through which these agents presented their values and concerns (2005:63-71). According to this logic, the human agents hold dialogues with other members of their communities, dialectically interacting, passing values back and forth through the associations and traits perceived as embodied within the objects taking on the role of conduits.

Latour argues against the idea that humans possess all agency, however, citing that objects participate interactively, regardless of their sentient state, and in doing so, they also become actors (2005:71). Certain actions, he states, cannot be undertaken without specific objects. Cutting cloth requires scissors, boiling water needs a kettle or pot, and, of concern
here, playing instrumental music must be done upon a musical instrument (2005:70-74).
Thus, we can think of musical instruments as being more than just conduits through which
makers and players have a dialectic interaction: musical instruments are also agents within
the maker-instrument-player network.

For Latour, the agency of objects must necessarily be included in analyzing the ways
they facilitate the completion or generation of an action. This does not imply that objects do
the acting. The term “agent” may not be fully appropriate in this light. Can something or
someone be an agent if they are passively involved in a network? No action is an action in
and of itself. Clifford Geertz (1973), Richard Schechner (1976), John Cage (1973) and many
others have taken this as a basic post-modernist stance when speaking in terms of field
ethnography or performativity studies. The same applies here. An instrument does not need
to do any acting to be an actor. Instruments can be perceived as agents in a social structure,
and thus they “actively [engage] in social interaction, and constitute an important element
in social organization” (Nercessian. 2001:10). The philosophical debates that surround this
idea are far beyond the scope of this thesis,\(^2\) therefore I will pause here simply to point out
that considering a musical instrument as an agent, as Latour suggests, is extremely helpful in
speculating how builders of musical instruments cultivate associations and interactions with
other agents in their musical networks.

An approach to outlining associations and interactions that has been in debate and
development since the 1980s is Actor-Network Theory (ANT).\(^3\) In part, this theory maintains
that interactions and associations are connected in a network. This network consists of

\(^2\) So many different discourses have broached the subject of the impossibility and
inevitability of doing nothing, ranging from Buddhists to performance studies scholars, to music
composers and theatrical coaches and more. This topic is the subject of many publication, therefore I
refer readers whom are interested in “not acting” as an action to seek out authors Richard Schechner
or Henry Bial for performance studies texts, John Cage, David Lieberman, or Michael Nyman for “not-
playing” music, Clifford Geertz, Helen Myers, Gregory Barz and Timothy Cooley for ethnography
discussions.

\(^3\) For discussions of the history and development of Actor-Network Theory see Law’s essay in
points of connection or “actors” with varying levels of agency that interact with each other through social or cultural channels. The actors themselves can also be seen as miniature networks within the overall network discussed, and therefore the agents and their connections form an "Actor-Network" (hyphen included to denote they are simultaneously both actor and network). The elements that I employ here are simple ones, but effective for examining the role of the musical instrument maker. Firstly, the notion that there is a network of actors connected to other actors is, on the surface, obvious. Musical instrument makers interact -although in different ways - with both the instruments they build and the players for whom the instruments are made and who play them. Secondly, I embrace the notion that these actors are themselves networks, thereby opening my research to the idea that each "node" within the network, whether a maker, player, or whatever, involves a complex series of associations and forms of agency. Thirdly, agents need not be human. Thus musical instruments themselves can be understood in terms of their agency and connectivity, even if this agency is passive as described above. When applicable, I will use the term “actant” instead of “actor” to denote a “node” in the network that may interject agency passively instead of or in conjunction with active participation. ANT cannot be taken as a theory that will explain what is happening with the network or how associations are created and upheld (Latour 2005:143,147), but it can be employed as an effective tool to expose the connections and interactions in greater detail thereby enabling a more informed analysis of the nature of the instrument maker's role in the network (Latour 2005:147).

Logically, in order to study musical instrument makers, I may consider starting with the makers themselves and see what connections they have with their network, but

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4 Latour’s book Reassembling the Social discusses all of these theoretical aspects in detail and outlines the ways in which Actor-Network Theory can be taken as a model to unpack the detailed connections of a network and the agents involved. He points out that you could continue working on unpacking any network ad infinitum, and that it is our framing of the research that limits the findings. For me, this limit is the scope of my specific research project and questions, and the time to accomplish my work set by my university. Because my time and space is limited, I refer readers whom are interested in gaining a deeper knowledge of ANT to Latour 2005 and Law and Hassard 1999.
approaches to researching human actors in connective settings, as described by Bruno Latour, may be problematic. Latour’s rationale is that studying the human actor initially will result in being distracted from the actual associations and interactions occurring within a social setting. He suggests that rather than directly studying a human’s role in a network it may prove more productive to start by studying the objects closely connected with that person (2005:203). Building upon this approach and drawing on material culture studies and ethnomusicology, I will outline a series of topics to address when investigating the musical instruments built by the makers with whom I work. Ultimately, this should enable me to begin to unravel the makers’ connections and better assess their role in their musical community.

Material Culture Studies and the Life of an Instrument

Material culture studies argue that objects are sites of power exchange, cultural heritage, political narratives, and identity and that they are themselves performative. This performativity of objects can give clues to a person’s desires, past, vocation, hobbies, potential future activities, and many other traits (Woodward 2007:133). Appadurai refers to an object’s potential to have a social life (1986) and thus to have trajectories or histories (Dawe 2001:222). Objects can enhance or hinder the lives of the people who interact with them. Feelings of nostalgia, familial attachment, identity, sense of connectivity within a community (imagined or not), and the importance of values are all constructed perceptions which can be supported by and through objects according to Woodward (2007:146). This is what Qureshi calls “embodied knowledge” (1997:2). She describes the embedding of knowledge into objects as coming about through interactions people have with those

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5 Within the discourse of material culture and Actor-Network Theory, there exists a debate over the ethics of affording non-humans such agency and performativity. This debate, according to John Law, should not extend to analytical use of the theory within a research context. Affording objects agency is a tool that helps translate observed traits and trends into terms which can be addressed by ANT researchers (Law 2001:4). See also Hoskins discussion in The Handbook of Material Culture (2006:82).
objects. These interactions occur over time and contribute to the formulation of narratives about the person and also the object. In a way, objects can have their own lives, their own biographies within the various contexts in which the objects are embedded. These contexts can change, and, in fact, do change, as different actors interact with the objects, affording people a performative aspect to their interactions as well as affording the object a level of performativity within the context of the aspects of the narrative that deals with those people.

Musical instruments are an excellent example of this sort of narrative. They are built by someone, born (so to speak), and have a gestation (transforming them from raw materials to that of a playable instrument), then a life beyond their creation that may take many forms. During these early stages (and as we shall see below, some later ones as well), they are a focus for their maker, perhaps in terms of pride, economic gain, or musical style evolution. Once built, they may move on to be used in stylistic expression by performers, presented in shop windows, or photographed for indirect musical associations. An instrument could be purchased, collected, displayed in a museum, revered, despised, rebuilt, repaired, deconstructed and used for parts, or simply forgotten. Each aspect or moment of an instrument’s biography is usually connected with a person or several people for whom the instrument embodies values, habits, cultural association, status, and so forth. In turn, and perhaps only passively or through its association with these people, the instrument embodies performative aspects for each of these biographical elements.

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6 Much of Regula Qureshi’s work on the North Indian sarangi addresses this; see Qureshi 1994; 1997.

7 An excellent example of the wide range of narratives generated from a musical instrument can be found in Girard’s film *le Violon Rouge* (1998) that follows a violin (modelled after or supposed to be the Stradivari Red Mendelssohn) through its use by many owners and how they interact with and are influenced by the instrument itself. Another example is Annie Proulx’s *Accordion Crimes* (1996), a novel that charts the course of events in the life of a Sicilian accordion as it is passed between various immigrants living in the United States over a period of several decades.
By taking a closer look at an instrument’s biography, we can begin to see the particular connections that will assist in formulating more specific questions to address concerning the role of the maker. An object has a beginning and an end. In the case of a musical instrument, as mentioned above, it is a collection of raw materials gathered together and assembled in a particular manner, then sold, given away, or kept by its maker, then potentially used for performing music, brandished as a symbol of music or a musically related lifestyle, or displayed as part of a collection depicting historical or cultural associations. Sometimes they are handed from performer to performer, from performer to collector, or they are hidden away in an attic and forgotten, stolen, accidentally broken or destroyed in a tragic fire. There is a timeline of events through which any instrument (or any object for that matter) travels. The life of an individual instrument thus can be considered to be a diachronic series of events.

The events that take place over the life of an instrument are irreversible once they happen, chronologically speaking. One could argue that altering a drum’s construction to suit a player’s changing ability level and techniques can be reversed. For example, a Punjabi bhangra drummer buys a dhol that used the traditional method of tying on both the treble and bass skins to the shell. He finds it is hard to keep the drum in tune when playing long gigs so he opts to replace the treble head with a synthetic mylar skin that uses metal tuning machines bolted to the side of the drum to secure it. Later, the drummer is dancing and playing with a traditional bhangra group and thinks the tuning machines make the drum too heavy and it does not have the sound he had with a goat skin on the treble end of the shell, so he changes it back. The drum has undergone a physical change that was reversed on a functional level, but the changes have occurred chronologically and even though the drum has been returned to a similar physical state as when the drummer purchased it, the player is not the same and therefore the situation is new. In fact each moment in the life of the drum has its own momentary situation that evolves and develops in complex ways.
Of primary concern here are the events surrounding the construction of the instrument. Although an instrument can be dismantled, rebuilt, repaired, or altered, the events can all be seen as isolated elements that fall into a diachronic series of happenings. The events that lead to an instrument’s construction are different for each instrument (even if similar instruments are constructed by the same maker), but there may be a similar series of events when considering similar instruments. According to the nature of the instrument’s physicality, certain basic tenets must be met. For instance, all banjos have a resonator of some sort and usually one with a membrane stretched over its upper half upon which the bridge for the strings is seated. If the instrument does not have such a resonator, then, by commonly accepted definition, it is not a banjo. Any instrument builder attempting to build a banjo, then, will most likely have to address choosing materials for the resonator, deciding if it will be an open-backed, closed-back, or vented resonator, and what type of membrane to use over which to seat the bridge and stretch the strings. The decisions that go into making a banjo (or any instrument), from the choice of materials used to deciding when to stop making the final touches and alterations afterwards, may be seen as a diachronic series of events over time, mapping out the happenings that make up the narrative of the gestation and birth of an instrument.

Stepping back and taking a look at the larger picture can reveal even more about the nature of these events and biographies. By framing these events as part of a diachronic series within the life of an instrument, it is possible to compare the other series of events in the lives of other similar instruments, and in doing so, another sort of biography emerges. Maker’s decisions take on a narrative or sorts, and one can see how a maker’s choices come about, are informed, and evolve over the course of their career and beyond to the standards of instrument building in their field of speciality. Effectively, there is a biography of the decision making events themselves as well as for the instrument as an object.
Allow me to review the notion of a maker’s decisions possessing a narrative using a more concrete example. A percussion maker decides to build a frame drum. She chooses red oak for the frame, goat skin for the head, and opts to leave the frame flat (un-contoured), with a 15mm, 30% angle on the inside leading edge of the frame and a 5mm, 10% angle on the outside, no thumb hole, and metal studs to secure the skin to the frame 1” from the leading edge. These choices and construction undertakings happen individually over time. She picks the red oak, then cuts and steams it, bends it into shape, glues it in place, and sands it to taste. She fine tunes the leading edge, and sets the frame aside to complete its drying before the skin is attached. She then prepares the skin by washing it and pre-stretching it. Later, she begins to attach the skin using the metal studs in a clockwise direction about 1” apart. Once she finishes the instrument and sells it to a percussionist, it gets used for performances and other percussionists test it and ask the owner about its origins.

Word of mouth discussion leads another percussionist to contact the maker and ask her to build a new frame drum for him. He makes a few requests, such as widening the thumb hole and changing the spacing on the metal studs, or increasing the number of studs to ensure greater security. The builder makes a prototype drum using these suggestions following the same steps as before, but after the drum is mostly built, she feels she needs to include a few innovations to her own design. She decides to use a gluing method only to attach the skin, in an attempt to flatten the area upon which the player rests his arm during performance, and to contour the frame itself for extra comfort and extended reach expanding the playing technique possibilities. She also decides the first drum is slightly too heavy and opts to use a lighter wood.

As a result, the new drum she makes for her patron is built using cherry wood, a contoured frame, including a thumb hole, and the leading edges are slightly altered as an experiment to see if the sound can be improved in her opinion. She wants the commissioner
of the drum to be able to play deeper/lower tones, so she picks horse skin which is thicker for this drum. It takes longer to prepare horse skin, so she does this first. Then she steams and bends the cherry strip and glues it and sets it to dry. It will take a little less time to dry than the oak, allowing her to start in the contouring sooner. She gets the frame ready to attach the skin without cutting the thumb hole first so she can make an informed decision about where to cut the final hole (although she knows it will be nearer to the point at which the strip of cherry was joined, that being the thickest part of the frame). She uses a gluing method, so there are no metal obstructions to the player’s wrist and she selects the best location for the thumb hole, then removes the excess wood, sands and finishes the drum and off it goes to the new performer, undoubtedly beginning another series of similar events.

Two things have occurred here: three instruments have begun a new life and each moved through a diachronic series of events that spell out a narrative, a biography for each drum. Comparing the methods and decisions she used for each drum, we can see that the events themselves have moved through a series of changes that outline an evolution of construction methods based on the experiences, values, and economic considerations deemed important by the maker, and that some of these considerations are partially informed by the diachronic events in the life of the drums. This places the maker in an important role within Haynes’ framing of an instrument’s physicality evolving in a “Darwinian” manner, meaning they are adapted in “small ways to make it easier for musicians to perform the music currently in fashion” (2007:151). Taking an ANT approach, then, and focusing on these two phenomena should yield a greater insight into the role of

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8 Although I use an example of a female builder, I should point out that throughout my research on Early Music instrument construction, I did not encounter any builders who were women. I did speak with women who were involved in the building process as decorators, apprentices, and general assistants, but none that were engaged in the physical construction or the decisions made thereof beyond visual aesthetics. This alone would make for an interesting and informative study to further the research I present here.
the maker within these processes, as well as underlining the connections, associations, and dialogues the makers have with their musical communities.

I should point out that this example does not take into account the types of decisions that may go into making an instrument intended for mass production. Here I give a possible development of a hand-crafted instrument and the maker clearly has incentives beyond replicating the instrument *en masse*. The mentalities behind the design of high volume, factory-built instruments presents several interesting issues and I hope that this study will provide lines of questioning that will further an enquiry on mass-produced instruments in the future, however, my thesis will address primarily makers who focus upon individually tailored and commissioned instruments.

**Connections, Associations, and Dialogues**

Looking at the events that make up the narrative of a musical instrument’s biography yields a series of interactions and associations the instrument has within its musical community. The members of a musical community include instrument builders, musicians, listeners and appreciators of the genres performed on the instruments, sellers of instruments and/or recordings, museum curators, teachers, artists, marketeers, and more passive outer members. What are the connections, then between the instruments and the other members? Can these associations be readdressed to gain a better understanding of the role instrument makers play in the community? As seen in the example above, connections between actors in a network is not unidirectional, which raises questions concerning potential hierarchies in the flows of interaction between the makers and other actors. What specific instrument construction traits and practices are primary contributors in these interactions?

Unpacking these connections and shedding light on these questions is an involved process. It is hard to know where to start, but the beauty of the ANT approach is that
starting anywhere will still lead us to and through any pertinent connections. We will see that many of the connections lead back to other connections, so choosing a starting point is easy – anywhere will do. One of the connections already stated above, then, will be appropriate and should serve as a path to all the other connections as the network unravels before us. The most obvious connection makers have to their musical communities is to the players who perform on their instruments. Taking this as my starting point, then, I will talk through several of the ways in which musical instruments afford associations in order to clarify the instrument maker’s engagement thereof. My discussion will take a path through performance techniques and genre considerations, concepts of authenticity, embedded cultural knowledge and personal nostalgia with a brief look at nationalism and ethnic identity construction, artistry and reframing instruments as visually aesthetically important objects, craftsmanship and the notion of quality, status symbols and lineage of players and builders, modernity and tradition that influences instrument performance and production, economic considerations and marketing instruments and the music played upon them. From this, questions about the maker’s role in these situations and interactions will emerge allowing me to more fully investigate the agency of musical instrument makers.

**Playing a Musical Instrument**

In what ways do performers interact with the builders of their instruments, then? Before moving to direct interactions between makers and players, I must point out there are certain aspects to being a performer that must be taken into account by a maker, even if the maker never encounters the musicians whom will be playing their wares. For instance, consider what Racy describes as the idiosyncratic qualities of an instrument (1994:37). The...

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Here I should refer again to Latour’s discussion that points out how, for example, my research will inform the decisions I will make on determining what is pertinent to this study, just as the text I write describing my findings inserts a level of agency of my own that contextualizes the results I present. There are other ways of describing the connections I highlight and the connections I deem immaterial have paramount roles in other studies. See Latour’s “Intermission” in *Reassembling the Social.* (2007:141-156).
general method by which an instrument generates sound, which is inherent in an instrument's traits, will not vary greatly. One indirect idiosyncratic elements around which a builder must work is the basic physiology of humans. The performers themselves have a generally limited range of hand width, finger length, lung capacity, et cetera, that frames a makers design for an instrument. Racy discusses this in the context of the construction of East Mediterranean Mijwiz, a double barreled, single reed aerophone that is made with its tonal stops placed to be comfortable for the fingers of the human hand as well as for the pitches it generates (1994:44-47).

Within this framework, the performer may have certain genre specific or stylistic preferences for their repertoire of playing techniques. Jazz drummers may want to have a short decay and a wider range of tones from a ride cymbal than their rock drummer counterparts who may prefer a louder, longer decay, but care less for multiple tones because they choose to incorporate many, different cymbals. A cymbal turner who is making a cymbal for a jazz drummer, then, may opt to make a thicker ride with a larger bell and purposefully turn the cymbal by hand with a deep cutting chisel to leave deeper ridges on the surface, allowing for a short “ping” sound, a bright, piercing high tone, and a scraping, ringing sound all to be obtained from the same cymbal. A cymbal turned for a rock drummer would more likely be thinner with a smaller bell and turned with a wider, flatter tool, perhaps even on a motorized lathe, to ensure a smoother surface, giving a longer sustain and a more even tone across the cymbal. The performers and their genre and performance preferences certainly play a key role in this scenario.

So far, I have mostly presented the notion that surrounding factors may influence a maker’s construction decisions, but the influences may flow in multiple directions. A maker’s choices may well be what encourages a player to take up a certain playing techniques or the availability of a trait within an instrument may allow for a technique to be incorporated more freely within a genre. If our cymbal maker above turned his cymbals with a specific
performance style or a particular genre in mind, he may well have influenced that genre by merely making his wares available to the musicians who choose to play music of that genre (or aspire to do so). It may seem that this is exactly what Haynes argues against, as I mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, but Haynes is referring to stylistic trends, not sonic palette choices and acoustical properties that lend themselves to particular performance techniques. Haynes follows his argument by pointing out that Period musical instruments encourage traits of Period performance (2007:153). This can easily translate to many other genres and styles the construction and availability of particular instruments may then, in part, be what affords and motivates the development and establishment of particular musical genres and styles.10

Another consideration is the potential of a maker taking on the dual role in the maker-instrument-player network. An instrument builder who performs within the network as well as makes the instruments on which they play their music may create a loop of connections that presents an entirely new range of interactions, responses, and constructions (both in terms of the physical instrument and the social contexts associated with it). Throughout my thesis, I will address many of these varying possible situations in which a maker may be situated within the maker-instrument-player network.

**Concepts of Authenticity**

The concept of selecting sonic palettes to introduce into a specific genre or setting brings to light issues surrounding what the players (and makers) perceive as being authentic.11 Bigenho separates the notion of authenticity into three useful categories.

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10 There are, of course, multitudes of possible reasons why a player may be encouraged to incorporate a particular performance style element, such as popular fads, political agenda, or presentational settings. For the most part, in this thesis, I will be concentrating on the maker’s role in this encouragement.

11 It is useful to point out here that one does not have to embraces a notion of authenticity, but even a rebellious reaction to a perception of authenticity is acknowledging it and on some level, accepting it. In this light, avoiding a style or mocking a style commonly accepted as being authentic can also be seen as embracing its authenticity.
(2002:20-21). The first is Cultural-Historical Authenticity that encompasses concepts of ethnic and national and specific era associations. For instance, ideas of what constitutes traditional Tibetan music played in the central part of the Tibetan Autonomous Region can differ heavily inside and outside China, or even within various regions within China.\footnote{See Morcom’s unpublished paper for a detailed discussion or Diehl 2004 for information on Tibetan music in India and the West.}

Debates over the historical accuracy of current medieval music performance practice take many stances, extrapolating possible stylistic traits from contemporary sources and embracing personal interpretations of authenticity. Scholars Haynes, Taruskin, Page and others argue that modern medieval-style performance is infused with modern sensibilities and aesthetics and is authentic to the performers who play it, but it is impossible to tell if it is authentic in a historical sense.\footnote{See Haynes 2007, Taruskin 1995, and Page 2000 for examples of these discussions.}

The second is Experiential Authenticity that emerges from personal encounters. This is reflected more from performance practices one may personally feel is more accurate than another. In this respect, it parallels the current medieval-style music performance discussion above. What a player understands as being authentic is for them. Being true to oneself may involve moving beyond what is commonly accepted as authentic, but remains so to the individual or group.\footnote{See the example of Neil Young’s 1982 release Trans below.}

The third type is Unique Authenticity, embracing the idea that there is a level of singularity involved with a type of music or performance. Debashish Bhattacharya, a North Indian classical musician who plays an electric slide guitar with added sympathetic strings often mentions the authenticity of his uniqueness and espouses to be the only slide guitarist in India and the originator of modifying his guitar to facilitate playing ragas in a Hindustani
style to his standards. Instrument choices within performance, then, can support or challenge any of these types of authenticity.

To a rock drummer, a set of chimes and a Punjabi dhol drum may or may not be treated as being acceptable instruments to include. This addresses all three types of authenticity. In a cultural-historical sense, are chimes or a dhol truly instruments a rock performer would add to their sonic arsenal? Historically before the late 60s chimes would most likely not have been a regular addition to a rock drummer’s kit nor would an ethnic instrument from India initially used for harvest ritual dance music. In terms of personal authenticity, would the incorporation of these instruments maintain that the drummer was being true to herself, regardless of whether these instruments are generally perceived by their fans or other musicians of the genre as being uncommon? Would she be standing out amongst other drummers? Perhaps the choice to include chimes and a dhol drum are a way in which she establishes her uniqueness by her peers. Based on the player’s personal experience, their cultural background or perception of the genre’s evolution, or the value they place on individualism, creates tension between these the perceptions of the different types of authenticity can prove to be major issues for some performers.

When Johnny Lydon (aka Jonny Rotten), famed punk rock singer for the infamous band The Sex Pistols, moved on to form his post Pistols break-up project Public Image Limited, he faced authenticity issues that included defending the use of electronic instruments while remaining within the bounds of the punk genre (Barker and Taylor. 2007:268-269.) To some this was being punk, breaking traditions of previous punk genre

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15 This is not the case, however. There are many other slide guitarists in India and others whom perform Hindustani classical music on slide guitar, such as Brij Buskan Kabra, Kamala Shankar, Barun Kumar Pal, Jwanth Naidu, and others. As documented by Martin Clayton, Bhattacharya himself sites other Hindustani slide guitarists and their influences, including Jnan Prakash Ghosh, a slide tanpura player, suggesting Bhattacharya is aware of other guitar players’ contributions to Hindustani music (Clayton. 2001:187-191). Bhattacharya primarily claims further innovations in construction that make the slide guitar more suitable for playing Hindustani classical music. Taken from conversations with Debashish Bhattacharya between 2004 and 2007 when I was employed as his sound engineer and recordist with John Levy, Honolulu, HI, USA.
bands upholding their cultural-historical sense of authenticity, while others considered Lydon to be moving away from the punk sound and mentality. Lydon felt he remained true to himself, prioritizing his sense of experiential authenticity, as well as feeling he was presenting a new sound to his audience that would extend the realm of punk rock to include electronic instruments, thus addressing unique authenticity (Barker and Taylor 2002:265).

Lydon, in maintaining he is a changing, creative entity who “does what he likes” (Barker and Taylor 2002:293), constructs and embraces concepts of all three types of authenticity, in part through his instrument choices.

Neil Young faced similar criticisms with his release Trans (1982) that departed from his California folk or heavy rock sounds on which he switched to computer generated tones, keyboards, and incorporating a vocoder to alter his voice. Barker and Taylor suggest that he may have been enhancing his authenticity with these choices by pushing the limits of being as un-commercial as compared to his previous releases and other music of the same genre as possible through his instrument and genre choices (2007:226). I suggest that he, too, constructed concepts of authenticity that addressed the tension between cultural-historical, experiential, and uniqueness in the same way that Lydon did. Feeling he was true to the spirit of rock, true to his own creativity, and presenting a sound that was new (at least for him and his general audience), he saw his work as valid and very much rock and roll, despite the drum machine, computer generated backing tracks, and heavily altered, electronic vocals. Barker and Taylor point out that concepts of authenticity are not static. For instance, in terms of the cultural-historical authenticity associated with the rock genre, there have been historical fluctuations in what can be considered authentic, as well. For

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16 In 1981, I attended a concert by Neil Young in which he played mostly acoustic rock and folk songs during the first half. After an intermission, he moved to a set of electronics, guitar feedback, and sang through a vocoder. A majority of the audience left, some “booing” as they did so, while others cheered and moved forward in the venue. When his album Trans was released in 1982, which featured the songs Young played in the second set. Rolling Stone reviewed the album, and despite complaining about the new directions Young took with his writing and creativity, the reviewer gave the record four out of five stars, claiming that Young had been true to himself and the spirit of rock and roll, thus the release was one that embodied “truth”. Puterbaugh 1983.
example, the use ethnic instruments and/or incorporating some performance techniques commonly used in be-bop jazz on standard rock instruments of the time would have been more readily accepted by rock music fans in the 1970s whereas previously, that may well have been severely criticized (Barker and Taylor. 2007:203).

Presentations of hybridized music can become authentic. Ry Cooder’s hand-picked “super group” of Cuban musicians whom he hired to record his award-winning album Buena Vista Social Club surpassed the possibility of being seen as inauthentic by most fans (Barker and Taylor. 2007:300) and, in part, through use of the choice of instrumentation. Acoustic bass, trumpet, and Latin percussion raised the potential for this fusion band to be heard as “the real thing” by some. Nonetheless, this ubiquitous and nostalgic World Music genre scarcely figured in the lives of most Cubans, who instead consumed popular genres which used electronic instruments such as Timba (Perna 2001), complicating notions of what might be seen as authentic Cuban music. And, thus, Cooder’s project was rejected as inauthentic by others (Perna 2008:247-249).

To someone with a comparatively greater level of cultural knowledge, even the smallest choices regarding an instrument or its construction may be of concern. Recently I began Egyptian tabla lessons because I was asked to perform with a belly dancer and gothic rock band that wanted to incorporate some of these same rhythms and sounds. I purchased a reasonably priced tabla from an Egyptian man and took it to my first day of

17 The Egyptian tabla is a goblet drum held across the lap and played with both hands, no sticks. There is some dispute and ambiguity as to the correct name for the drum in various regions. The name doumbek and darbuka are also used (and spelled many way using Roman alphabetic transliterations). The drum is played traditionally from regions across North Africa through Turkey to Eastern Europe and towards western South Asia throughout the Middle East. It has been incorporated into many genres, including a few gothic rock styles, and in general the drums are essentially the same, although, as you can see from my example above, not everyone shares that perception. (For an example of this discourse in a popular forum, visit http://mideastpercussion.tribe.net/thread/ce628fa9-d47a-40f4-b270-ec1e874f8703. For a list of names and regions in which the drum is played traditionally, visit http://www.rhythmweb.com/doumbek/names.htm.)

18 I meet the seller in Edinburgh, Scotland, and later purchased the drum online. Interesting connections are immediately unpacked from this encounter, including marketing channels, player-seller interaction, and ethnicity and authenticity issues.
lessons. The instructor, master drummer Farouk El Safi, inspected each student’s tabla and he picked mine up, telling me I had an acceptable student model that would afford me the means to learn the standard performing techniques easily and make the sounds required to play the patterns he would be teaching. He specifically said that it was a “nice Egyptian drum”. The next student’s drum, however, did not pass master Farouk’s authenticity test: he claimed that this student’s tabla was Turkish (he did not call it a tabla, but a darabouka, the name commonly associated with the Turkish version of the drum) and may not give the same sound as an Egyptian one. We asked what the difference was, for none of us could see anything that separated the drums in terms of basic construction. Master Farouk pointed out that there was a difference between the ways in which the skins were seated against the leading edge. A small gap and slightly raised head were traits of the Turkish drum and while the Egyptian drums had skins seated flush with the playing edge and there was practically no gap between the skin and tuning rim.  

Later it was explained to me by Ali Kirdar, master Farouk’s assistant and head pupil, the Turkish darbuka and the Egyptian tabla are almost the same, but the curvature of the leading edge is slightly different, allowing for different sounds to be played more easily on the respective drums. There may be differences between the two types of drums that only a depth of cultural knowledge can discern. Or it may be that performance technique dictates the prominence of subtle differences. There may also be political issues at work that fuel the acceptance of one set of construction traits over another (decorations, for example, would differ greatly between Egyptian and Turkish drums for one familiar with the patterns common in those area’s traditional art). It does not truly matter, though, because master Farouk and Ali Kirdar are aware of cultural traits that support their delineation of authenticity, ethnicity, and elements of professionalism associated with these delineations. Furthermore they will always be concerned with the details of a drum’s leading edge and

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19 Taken from conversations with Farouk El Safi, 6 February, 2010, London, UK.
20 Taken from a phone interview with Ali Kirdar, 17 February, 2010.
skin seating when choosing an instrument to buy or play. How much cultural knowledge (understanding of traditional art work, typical contemporary or historical construction of the instrument, or performance techniques), then, raises a maker to a level of being perceived by players as making authentic instruments? And how do they come to possess this knowledge and manufacture instruments that reflect this knowledge? Also, what are the maker’s perceptions of cultural authenticity and how are these manifested in an instrument’s construction?

**Nationalism and Ethnic Identity Issues**

Instrument choice, genres performed upon them, and their construction, then, can be deeply involved in the construction of identities, including ethnicity, and national symbols. Nercessian argues that an “instrument’s appearance and sound are both seminal in the construction of place and culture” (2001:11). The Tibetan *sGra sNyan* lute is an example of this. Ian Collinge describes the Tibetan six-stringed lute as being the emblem of Tibetan society (1993: 22, 33). While in China conducting research on folk instruments, including the *sGra sNyan*, used by rock bands in Lhasa, I found that this was the case more generally speaking, within the Tibetan Autonomous Region and across the country in locations where minority music was more commonly played (see heritage construction discussion below). In addition, I experienced a great degree of regionally specific familiarity with the *sGra sNyan*. The shape of the body, length of the neck, the number of strings, and even zoomorphic carvings on the headstock seemed to inform the more culturally aware viewer or listener from where the instrument was supposed to have originated. The

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21 In my thesis, for the name of this Tibetan instrument, I use the Wylie transliteration system in lieu of the Tibetan characters for ease of reading. The name of the lute in Tibetan Uchen script is ཤྩ་ནི་ན་.  
22 I say “supposed” to have originated here because the builders of many of these instruments did not come from the areas associated with the lute. The makers with whom I had contact were more centrally located in and near Lhasa and employed stylistic elements to portray regional associations from Amdo, Ngari, and elsewhere in U-Tsang. A similar case is discussed briefly in chapter three.
instruments and subsequent construction details of those instruments which culturally-knowledgeable musical community members uphold as being representative of particular regions and ethnic groups may change. There are many examples of how people adopted instruments from other parts of the world and altered the original prototype in order to exploit locally available construction materials or to meet local aesthetic priorities. For example, the charango, now one of the most iconic instruments of Andean music, developed from Spanish guitar-related instruments such as the viola de mano or viheula, and was often traditionally made from the carapace of an armadillo or a dried gourd (Stobart 2006:75-76), Similarly, European-style brass bands have become recognized as an authentic part of the Bolivian national soundscape, following their use in the early 1930s to announce and dispatch military regiments, and for festivals and ceremonies during the Chaco War (Bigenho. 2002:44). In regards to adaptation, then, to what extent do makers construct their wares with regional or national associations and their associated markets in mind?

Heritage and Nostalgia

Political entities can be a powerful force in determining an instrument’s association. The Chinese government, as part of a cultural revival movement in the 1980s, embraced heavy sponsorship of the arts in an attempt to mould minority identities (Anonymous 2001:51). This included incorporating the Tibetan sGra sNyan to represent the Tibetan minority group, arranging for Han performers to play the lute played as accompaniment for government-published songs and including images of the lute in government-commissioned artwork and sculptures. For example, a government-sponsored statue of a man playing a sGra sNyan faces the Potala Palace in the most prominent, tourist filled area in Lhasa. Morcom recounts how the government in 2005 proposed to make the sGra sNyan compulsory in certain music competitions and festival performances as part of a plan to help identify the sGra sNyan with Tibetan culture (unpublished paper:23).
Another example is the Japanese Koto, a 17 or 21 stringed zither, which has been deemed part of Japan’s official national heritage by Japanese government (Yano. 2002:8). Many countries have an instrument a part of the way they promote celebrating their culture or heritage. The official national instrument of Scotland is the Highland Bagpipe.\(^2\) The \textit{Mbira} is the national instrument of Zimbabwe. The \textit{Khene} (mouth organ) is Laos’ instrument. The \textit{Dudek} is the national instrument of Armenia, et cetera. It is effective for governments to “piggy back” nationalist ideals on historical associations and construction. Lowenthal

\(^2\) The Scottish National Tourist website lists the Highland bagpipe as the official national instrument. Interestingly, in the description of the instrument on their page, they admit readily that the bagpipe is not unique to Scotland, but then they go on to claim it as their own through heritage and long-standing traditional associations. \url{http://www.visitscotland.com/guide/scotland-factfile/scottish-icons/the-bagpipes}. 

![Figure 1: Statue across from the Potala featuring a Tibetan sGra sNyan lute. (Photograph by the author. 2006.)](image)
suggests that creating a positive memory of past lives can give rise to a positive outlook on a potential future and that governments may attempt to use notions of heritage to generate nostalgia to assist in creating this positive outlook (1998:7.) Often this is done through celebrating a governmentally approved version of history. This is celebration of history is what Lowenthal defines as “heritage” and he goes on to explain that heritage is a fabricated “clarification” of the past that is “infused with the purposes of the present” (1998:xv). Artisans, including musical instrument makers,\(^{24}\) may be encouraged to participate in the reification of a governmental construction of history through such means as government-offered funding opportunities and the tourism industry (Herzfeld. 2004:7-25), as in the case with the Scottish Bagpipe and the Zimbabwean Mbira above.\(^{25}\)

Concepts of heritage associated with musical instruments are not restricted to government-supported projects. Yano describes the use of Japanese traditional instruments accompanying enka music performed in Brazil as being an affective nostalgic element for the Japanese community in South America (2002:102-103, 107). Other forms of nostalgia beyond nationalistic associations are possible too, and they may take on a more personal meaning. Musical instruments can bring about feelings or moods connected to sonic experience or remind someone of their past or potential future with the associated positive or negative attachments (Woodward. 2007:146). Gell suggests that works made by artisans take on intentionalities that are instilled with personal feelings and agendas, and in fact, that the artisan blurs into her/his work to inject into the work itself a level of agency (1998:12-24).

\(^{24}\) For instance, the Ministry of Culture in China is initiating a programme to assist instrument builders in Xinjiang build instruments, sell them, and offer apprenticeships to young would-be instrument makers; UNESCO has funded projects such as the Radif of Iran project that in part pays for instruments to be built for the performances. See http://www.lifeofguangzhou.com/node_10/node_33/node_572/2009/02/16/123475092560315.shtml for an article on Xinjiang instrument makers and the Chinese Ministry of Culture and http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/doc/src/00279-Nomination_form.doc for the UNESCO publication of the details for funding Iranian instrument builders during the 2009 Radif project.

\(^{25}\) Not only does Scotland’s official governmentally supported tourist website list the Highland bagpipe as being the official national instrument, they includes a link to an officially approved bagpipe maker from whom the official national instrument may be purchased. http://guide.visitscotland.com/vs/guide/5,en,SCH1/objectId,INF508065vs.curr,GBP,season,at1,selectedEntry,home/home.html.
Here, he is referring to visual artists in various contexts, but could he not be speaking of musical instrument builders as well?

Musical Instruments as Visual Art

Dawe observes that musical instruments are sometimes seen as art (2001:224). An object may be framed or reframed in various ways and the functionality or aesthetic value may differ from one beholder to the next (Clifford. 1988:192-200). The beholder may be influenced by the ways in which an object is framed for them, as Clifford points out, in the case of displayed works in an art gallery or museum. Clifford describes this re-framing as a movement from displaying an object as an “artefact” to displaying it as a “masterpiece” (1998:223). He goes on to point out that contextual framing lends a certain level of authenticity to the selective framing aspects and those aspects support constructions of value associated with the objects being displayed (Clifford 1988:222-226). He uses an example of presenting ethnic artifacts as being a parallel and influence on works of art labeled primitive (Clifford 1988:189-196). Here the cultural artifacts are presented as having similar forms and themes to the style of art created by painters and sculptors associated with the primitive art scene. Effectively, the curators of the galleries displaying these cultural artifacts have re-framed the ways in which they want their audience to view the pieces in the exhibit. Re-contextualizing a musical instrument through displays and other discourse can shed light on aspects of construction and artistic intentionalities that may lead to new questions regarding the maker’s agency.

While researching frame drum construction in southern Alaska, I was able to view many Tlingit lxt (shaman) drums built in the early 1800s. These drums were constructed before a time when severe impositions were placed upon builders and performers by missionaries and military presences vying to acquire the territory or convert the native population to Christianity. In brief, the drums reflected this lack of invasive powers through the construction methods and paintings of moiety symbols on the inside of the drums.
These drums were displayed in glass cases in the Sealaska Heritage Foundation lobby in Juneau and storage drawers at the Shackelton Museum in Sitka. They were displayed to highlight the details of the paintings. Although these displays effectively ignored the musical and theatrical performance practices associated with the drum as well as certain construction techniques that reflected a pre-European industrial contact, the display did bring out interesting and significant changes in Tlingit art trends as a result of social values being challenged with the introduction of tourism and religious interactions. The visual elements of these drums are paramount to understanding critical evolutions and interactions that took place amongst the Tlingit from pre- and early contact with Europeans (circa the late 1700s to the early 1900s, focusing on the late 1800s) until Alaska was awarded statehood by the U.S. in the 1940s. Reframing the way in which these drums had been displayed in other settings previously allowed for new research and a greater understanding of how Tlingit artists and drum construction methods embodied social evolution.

Highlighting artistic qualities of musical instruments, then, can offer new insights into the ways in which we think about a builder’s intentions or abilities. The Victoria and

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26 According to research I conducted in Alaska, previous to significant contact with missionaries and military forces from Europe (beginning approximately 1820s to 1850s), the Tlingit ixt or shaman used frame drums that were made to double as masks during rituals. The frames were built using all wooden parts (cedar pegs, bark thread, et cetera) and their skins were tied on across the back with little or no other security. To facilitate drama performances, faces of moiety characters depicting ancestors or spirits were painted on the inside. That way, when the player held the drum up to their head while standing, with the playing surface facing the performer, they could beat the drum and act in shamanistic dramas simultaneously. Later, when missionaries and military forces discouraged such dramas, often through force and humiliation tactics, players began to omit the paintings. Their performance techniques changed to playing bent over at the waist with the playing surface of the drum facing outwards. When tourism was introduced in the early 1900s, paintings returned to the drum’s skins, but now they were placed on the outside (playing surface) and the pictures depicted falsified moiety characters because they artists did not want tourists to purchase something sacred or representative of an actual ancestor. Also, the introduction of European construction parts became evident, such as metal staples to hold the frame together. Drum production stopped for some time soon afterwards, and as elders died, they took their knowledge of drum construction with them. A lull in drum making occurred in the 1940s and 50s as a result. During revivalist movements in the 1960s, Tlingit would-be drum builders attended international pow-wows in the southwest of the U.S. There they appropriated drum construction methods from Navajo, Apache, and other nations, rekindling Tlingit drum construction traditions influenced heavily by Southwestern styles with strikingly different methods of construction. These techniques are still primarily employed today.
Albert museum in 1968 published a catalogue of photographs that showed details of ornamentation from their collection of musical instruments. The book is entitled called *Musical Instruments as Works of Art*, and the introduction makes clear the V&A administration hoped to “reveal the beauty of the instrument’s ornamentations ... alongside other works of their day” (Pope-Hennessy. 1968:i). The same introduction claims that the sound of the instruments was often “possessed an elegant tone,” but went on to announce the intention of the book was to highlight ornamentation and its evolution throughout European history (1968:i). This re-contextualization points out the curator’s sense of value in regards to the visual aesthetics of their collection. It also serves to present an idea of what may have been more important to an instrument builder producing musical works that may have had an associated social function or status beyond the playing capability of the instrument that may be still a concern to makers today as it was in the Baroque and Renaissance as the V&A catalogue shows.

**Craftsmanship**

The Victoria and Albert catalogue calls the instruments in their book works of “quality” (Pope-Hennessy. 1968:i). Quality is a highly subjective term. The *Oxford English Online Dictionary* defines quality as a degree of excellence or simply general excellence itself27. Through one interpretation of this definition, an instrument exhibiting quality may suggest the instrument is durable and more playable than one in a state of disrepair that it is unusable musically. Contextually speaking, however, any instrument in any state can be considered high quality. Consider the Hemingford Arms, a pub in Islington that hangs old, broken, practically beat up instruments from their ceiling as decorations to keep their clientele entertained as they drink or the Turkish immigrant run Archway cafe that uses playable, but inexpensive and probably hard-to-tune goblet drums as plant stands. To these business owners, an instrument that would be shunned by a professional player is exactly

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what they want and need. It is arguable that they may not regard these instruments as high 
quality, but as low cost or free and unplayable, these instruments provide quaintness, ethnic 
or cultural connections, a sense of history or timelessness, and points of discussion for 
customers, potentially increasing business and thus economic gain. Similarly, an avant garde 
musician seeking unique sounds from a broken piece of equipment, such as a cracked 
cymbal or a guitar with a severely warped neck that affords them precise timbres 
unattainable from less damaged gear, these instruments take on a greater value rendering 
them perceived as being higher quality.

The range of perceived quality of an instrument’s construction can also be quite 
diverse. The maker’s concepts of quality and those of a performer’s may take on very 
different values. A maker may see the craftsmanship, the visual beauty, the mechanical or 
electrical innovations, or the rare materials used as determining the height of quality, 
whereas the player may think in terms of portability, weight, comfort and ease of playing, 
timbre, status, or price as being more important. This is not to say that both parties do not 
think of each of these factors when evaluating an instrument’s quality, but rather to say that 
each actor’s connections to an instrument will be informed and made with a varying set of 
values. And these values are not static: over time a player may tend to find portability a 
great quality determining trait over price as she previously upheld as her health declines or 
her number of gigs per week increases and she still relies on public transportation to get 
from one show to another.

As one can see, there are many factors that may determine quality. In the case of 
the V&A, I think it is safe to assume that they are referring to the notion of craftsmanship 
and artistry. Sennett sees craftsmanship as quality-driven work (2008:241). He describes it 
as a two-fold aspect; the maker’s personal desire to do good work (an internal perception), 
and the maker’s ability to do the work considered to be good by others. Sennett regards the 
relationship between wanting to do and doing and how that shapes the ways in which a
maker may hone a trade and build economic stability as being a balance between, or rather cultivating a level of both of, expertise and obsession that fuels a successful vocation (2008:241-267). Obsession, as described by Gomart and Hennion, is negotiated by actions that aspire to accomplish a goal of heightened emotional experience (1999:244), in this case accomplishment of making an instrument perceived to possess high quality. Much of the discussions in the following chapters will embrace this idea. What I wish to point out here is that framing musical instruments in this way, we can see that the maker’s sensibility of craftsmanship and their drive to meet the standards they set for themselves may play a key role in determining a maker’s interactions in the maker-instrument-player network.

**Tool Use and Aesthetics**

Quality-driven craftsmanship must also include striving to achieve what is perceived by the player/purchaser of a musical instrument as being hand-crafted or well-made. This presumes an understanding by the maker of how the buyer/player perceives the second half of Sennett’s definition, that being the maker’s ability to do good work, but what constitutes “good work”? Associations the instrument may have visually may play a role in the buyer’s concept of quality. A sturdy, highly playable, pristine violin with a desirable tone may be less sought after than an instrument with similar tonal qualities but appears to be worn and old, even if it is recently built. Sygmuntowicz claims to purposefully leave tool marks and apply varnish unevenly to make his instruments appear pre-played and leave a reminder of his craftsmanship (Marchese 2008:175). To what extent, then, does a builder falsely “antique” their wares for marketing? Is there a sonic compromise they must make in order to balance the marketability with the playability of an instrument?

Another aspect of tool use is productivity. Makers face issues of quantity versus quality according to Sennett (2008:109) and these issues are often met with decisions regarding tool use. Livingston, when referring to craftsmanship in revivalist movements, points out that many historically concerned members of a revival movement take an “anti-
technology” stance, but are faced with the fact that embracing technology on some level must occur for the revival to survive (1999:80). This applies to makers of instruments engaging in the production of period instruments, ethnic instruments, or instruments attempting to maintain being primarily hand-crafted. How do production decisions interact with economic consideration? What sensibilities of craftsmanship dictate tool use and presentation of constructed instruments? What demands imposed by buyers and the market inform the maker of what tools to use and how to use them?

The juxtaposition of traditional with modern techniques and tool use will be addressed extensively throughout the thesis. Here I wish to make clear that the appearance of an instrument, production considerations, and a maker’s ability or willingness to utilize tools and techniques can have great bearing on a maker’s construction decisions.

Status and Lineage

In part, the sense of standards set for a maker can be established by specific instruments. Marchese writes that contemporary violin maker Sam Zygmuntowicz aspires to match or exceed the perceived quality of a specific violin, the Rosgonyl, made by Antonio Stradivari (2007:25). Its owner, Eugene Drucker, is a violinist for the Emerson Quartet. Two other members of the group own instruments built by Zygmuntowicz (a violin and a cello), as does Drucker’s wife (a cello) (2007:25, 42). Drucker, being familiar with Zygmuntowicz’ work, was motivated to commission a violin for himself. Zygmuntowicz is familiar with the Rosgonyl violin as well, having had the experience of hearing it played and playing it himself privately in his workshop (2007:26). The instruments in this maker-player network possess an association with specific makers that, in turn, have an association with a sense of quality and craftsmanship. The instruments themselves are symbols of status directly related to their respective makers. Stradivari is arguably the most well-known violin maker in history (Faber 2004:254-255). Owning one of his instruments suggests that the owner is most likely an accomplished musician, serious about their performance, and paid well for their skills.
(and thus, they can afford a Stradivari instrument) (Faber 2004:xv-xviii). The violins and cellos Drucker had heard and played prior to his commission convinced him that Zygmuntowicz’s instruments were of a quality that met his standards and Zymungtowicz being regarded highly by his colleagues, gave the maker an excellent reputation. This reputation translates to his instruments and they become symbols of status to those who know his work. Many famous players including Joshua Bell and Yo-yo Ma own both Stradivarius and Zygmuntowicz instruments, increasing the contemporary maker’s status (Marchese 2008:234).

Status symbols may mark monetary wealth. In the case of the violins above, an average Zygmuntowicz instrument will cost on the order of $30,000USD (Marchese 2008:18) and the Rosgonyl cost Eugene Drucker $250,000USD in 1985 (Marchese 2008:49). Money is not the only reflection of status, though. Instruments may also support a hierarchy between individuals associated with them in other ways. Musical instruments participate in political, historical, and elitist constructions in various cultures (Qureshi 2000:811). Kraus speaks of pianos in China as being a way for families to mark higher levels of education (1989:161-190) and keepers of instruments reserved for religious functions in Tlingit are held at the Hit Satey, the community house presided over by a member of the moiety that holds great legal and social power.29

Associations builders have with other instrument makers can generate a particular perception of status held by patrons and players. For violin makers, being associated with Stradivari is a prime example of this. Stradivari made a name for himself over time, but we must keep in mind that his violins were new when he made them and that he had teachers

28 This may mean, too, that a famous or extremely expensive instrument is owned by a collector or institution and merely loaned to a player, typically one with a high profile and advanced performance ability.

29 This is also part of my research in Alaska. The Hit Satey would house all important religious regalia used for funerals, potlatches, and departure or arrival ceremonies. The possession of these items also afforded the curator social power and members of the moiety may visit the Hit Satey for advice or to strengthen ancestral worship potency.
and models himself (before he set out on his own, Stradivari was the apprentice of Nicolo Amati). Passing construction traditions from master maker to pupil is a direct lineage path, but what of broken traditions or makers who build instruments in the style of another, without having been in touch with them in person? Marchese claims Zygmuntowicz is a student of Stradivari, even though the master died several hundred years before Zygmuntowicz picked up his first piece of wood (2008:24). A maker does not even have to know who the master of their lineage is; if a maker models their instrument after another or builds incorporating a particular tradition, does that not make them part of a lineage in a way? If makers feel that they are part of a lineage, then, how does that affect their construction methods and status?

Marketing and Economics

As shown above, association with a maker lineage and establishment of quality standards can bring relative status to an instrument. This extends to the makers and players as well: vice versa, an instrument can gain status if it is made by a particular maker or played by a famous instrumentalist. I also mention above that this can be reflected in monetary value associated with an instrument. These status and quality markers thus potentially increase the marketability of an instrument. I will go into much greater detail on the ways in which issues surrounding marketing can influence a maker’s decisions and in turn how those decisions can come into play within a market for musical instruments. Here I wish to point out that we can see by looking at the instruments themselves that there are marketing values and trends that can offer suggestions as to how builders engage with players and other members of the musical community.

Destinations for musical instruments can be extremely varied, but ultimately most instruments will go to players or collectors. The ways by which instruments get to those players and collectors, however, are extremely complex. What instruments are typically
played within what genres? What are the age groups targeted? Income brackets? Geographic locations? To attract attention to various potential buyers, makers must approach each of these questions with more questions, like where is the best place to display one’s wares?

The saying “time is money” does apply to marketing and making instruments. Are these time consumption issues, then, surrounding making instruments or offering them to the public? What are the turn-around time concerns of making an instrument and what impact does that have on marketing? It takes about two years for Sam Zygmuntowicz to produce a violin and about five years to make a cello (Marchese 2008:18). Sometimes it is not the actual building process that contributes to the length of time needed to build an instrument. The bamboo root used to make a shakuhachi may be smoked and aged for up to 100 years before making into a flute. A single instrument may span two or three generations of builders before it is completed. Time spent not only increases the price and status of the shakuhachi, but price and status may also be influenced by drastic economic changes that may occur over the many decades it takes to age the bamboo (Tsuneko 2008:145-168). (Also see Tool Use above.)

It can be said as well, then, that “materials are also money.” A rare or imported wood most likely will cost more resources (both capital and time to gather and prepare) than a locally obtained or commonly found wood. Whether or not a material is expensive can change depending on geographic location or local economy. It can also change regarding quantity, size of material, perceptions of quality, and status considerations associated with the material itself before instrument construction. In the case of the Tibetan sGra sNyan,

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30 Here there are so many issues that I cannot address them all. What I do, instead, is specify genre and marketing related questions in terms of my case studies. I expound upon these ideas in more detail in my discussion of case study choices and later in chapters dealing with economic considerations of makers.
some models are made using a snake skin covering the resonating cavity on the body. Often these instruments were played in governmental ceremonies at which the Dalai Lama was in attendance and were regarded as the most ornate and produced the best sound. Prior to Tibet’s annexation by China, these skins came from Okinawa where they are also used for the lutes in the region from in which the snakes live naturally. Now, with some animal rights and health restrictions imposed upon importing animal skins, lute builders in Lhasa have trouble obtaining Okinawan Haku snake-skin and occasionally substitute a Nepalese constrictor skin if it can be brought over the mountains to Tibet. While the general costs of making an instrument of this sort in China are perhaps low in comparison with other world economies, the relative expense and difficulty in obtaining the materials to make a lute with such ornate features becomes extremely high.

Material choices are not always economic ones, or rather the choice may be made in terms of other factors and thus the cost of an instrument can become higher or lower accordingly. Instruments built with certain materials can influence a player’s opinion of it or the maker’s decision to incorporate the material through the resultant sonic qualities or other aspects, such as visual, economic, or logistical considerations. In a recent interview aired on the BBC with rock percussionist Carl Palmer, he recounted that early in his career, he wished to acquire a set of drums that would sustain their sound noticeably longer than his wooden drums made from maple. Palmer also liked the idea of playing a set that carried

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31 This information comes from a series of interviews conducted with a lute maker in Lhasa, July 2006. The conversations were conducted through a translator in part, and one of the maker’s assistants who could answer some questions for the maker. If the maker felt an answer was not sufficient, he interjected with more information. I do not know the state of trade between China and Japan nor the regulations or restrictions regarding animal skins beyond what was told to me here. The important factor here is that the maker saw these skins as being a status symbol and a difficult to obtain material that afforded him the luxury of increasing his price and upgrading his claims of quality construction. The snake skin is attached to the body with the scales facing a particular direction to create an iridescent effect when held up in playing position, thus they were considered more ornate. The Haku skin is thinner than the more commonly used goat skin and the way the scales lay across the stretched skin offers a brighter sound with a shorter decay, giving the sGra sNyan that uses snake skin a more piercing, high pitched (due to overtones), sharper sound distinctly different from lutes incorporating goat skin. These qualities are considered by the maker to have a more pleasant and regal sound that matches the decorative aspects, making these lutes worthy of courtly functions.
more “clout”; that would show off his new wealth and professional status. He commissioned a set of drums with stainless steel shells. The steel being a denser material than the maple, it would enable the resonance that he desired, and the costs of stainless steel drums would be high, a fact that would be easily recognized by his audiences. When asked by the designer (who obviously was not a touring musician) if Palmer would prefer one inch or two inch thick steel, Palmer thinking in terms of no monetary restrictions answered, “two inches.” The drums, once built had the sustain that Palmer desired, but they also were almost prohibitively heavy and required a several members of Palmer’s road crew to carry and set up the drums, making them too time-consuming to prepare for gigs and too expensive to maintain on tour. Palmer admits that he would never have made the choice for two inch thick steel if he had possessed a better understanding of the weight and portability issues resulting from that choice.\footnote{Taken from the BBC Four 2009 airing of Prog Rock Britannia. Its contents can be seen via short clips posted on the BBC’s website: \url{http://www.bbc.co.uk/music/progbritannia/}}

Construction material issues may also arise within the construction of historical instruments or instruments with traditional associations. When players hear or play instruments that are made with materials with which they are not familiar or which they deem inaccurate, the aesthetics of the instrument may not yield a tone considered satisfactory (Homo-Lechner 1998:44). Historical authenticity may not make a significant sonic difference, as in the case with historic bow maker Emma Alter. She is sure to construct her medieval style bows using horse hair taken from breeds of horses that may have been living on the British Isles before the 1400s.\footnote{Taken from an interview with Emma Alter 12 March, 2008. There is some debate as to which breeds were present on the British Isles in medieval times as most of the records remaining refer to horses’ functionality rather than their specific breeds, but Alter uses an extrapolation based on educated guesses to reduce the possibilities to horses bred by Romans and brought to the islands after Crusades. (See Clark 2004 and Hyland 1994).} She claims that the while there is a slight difference in sound due to variations in coarseness between each breed’s hair, there are many horse breeds that have comparable hair coarseness and it would be sonically
acceptable to use almost any horse hair, but her concern is one of historical aesthetics. She chooses to use the hair she understands as being the most historically accurate.

In the case of Tlingit frame drum, contemporary builders could use goat skin, which is thinner, easier to stretch, and commonly available to purchase. Instead, many builders choose to make their drums with deer skin, bear skin, moose skin, and occasionally seal skin. All of these materials are thicker than goat skin and normally take more effort to make them supple enough to be useful as a drum head, but they all carry cultural significance (in relation to moiety associations): they are gathered as a result of hunting and considered an offering from the animals as well as the drum maker showing respect to the animal by using all of its parts after its death, and the choice to use them upholds a tradition the makers have established. There is a sonic difference between the goat skin and these other choices, as well, and this plays into the perceived authenticity of the drum, however the greatest importance is the spirituality of bonding with the animal through making the drum, which may not be possible buying a goat skin from a vendor.³⁴ Makers choosing specific materials over others may have significance beyond acoustical properties. The gives rise to the question: what cultural and historical sensibilities inform a maker when faced with choosing particular materials for building their instruments?

Demographics and Genre Considerations

Material considerations in regards to historical accuracy or ethnic authenticity may be influenced by a maker’s target performer. In some cases the maker will not be aware of the musicians whom will purchase their instruments, but in other situations they will have a

³⁴ When in Alaska in 2000, I worked with “Uncle Jimmy”, a Raven elder who was a drum builder on Dog Point Island near Sitka. This is the explanation he gave for skin choices. He also claimed that the skin would come to the maker in some form. In my case, a local boy had recently shot a moose who was charging him and his brother. This was part of the ways in which the moose spirit was repaying his debt to the local people: by allowing his skin to be used to make a drum. I, in return, had to thank the moose spirit from his contribution. My drum, because of the moose skin, would be designated as a bass heavy drum and that would have meant that if I had played in local performances at potlatches, I would have had specific parts to perform if multiple drums were used. The skin “selection” was far from a simple choice and there were a multitude of cultural associations that extended beyond the basic acoustical properties of the construction materials.
genre in mind to be performed upon their wares. Choices for construction material choices can change if this is the case. Take educational-level instruments as an example. If a large number of students without the expertise to discern embouchure subtleties is the target performing group, making plastic recorders with a less concern for tuning specificity is acceptable. The materials may be less expensive; the perceived lower quality may be deemed a valuable trade off when compared to lowering costs for an instrument that will meet the performance level of the players. However, when the player increases in skill, these instruments may not be acceptable any more, and the maker may choose to use cherry or maple wood instead of plastic to respond to the expectation that the player will now be able to notice the difference.

Age groups and playing experience levels are of concern, then, and so is performance genre. A rock drummer may prefer thicker, wooden tipped drum sticks that are made with hickory wood to get a sound from cymbals and drums that is louder, emphasizes lower frequencies, and gains a longer sustain accommodating a heavier stroke in comparison to some jazz drummers who chose to buy thinner sticks with nylon tips made with cherry wood for shorter, brighter sounds and quick, lighter strokes.

Some instruments target genre performance mainly through aesthetics. A black electric guitar with silver trim and an inlaid silver bat on the finger board may be perfect for a gothic rock band, but a reggae artist may prefer the same model guitar with a green, red, and yellow finish substituted for the black one. Sometimes instruments possess the agency necessary to target players after they have been made, but also sometimes they are made to target specific musicians. To what extent do makers construct their instruments with their demographic group in mind? How do cultural, genre, and economic considerations come into play when makers decide on construction methods and goals? In this study, as I mention above, I will not be addressing the ways in which mass-produced instrument builders invest in genre aesthetics as a means to boost sales or target specific performer
groups. These questions and related ones require expanded research parameters, such as more funding and time spent on the project. I also feel that the research conducted should be focused on individual makers or smaller companies from which personal experiences of the makers can be pinpointed before enlarging the research project to include greater numbers of like instruments that may engage different sets of income brackets, markets, styles, and fewer or different direct customer-maker interactions. This does not by any means make a study of mass-produced instruments and the role of their makers any less valid or important and I hope research on this aspect of the maker-instrument-player network is undertaken as well.

**Repairing versus Creation: Pluralistic Approaches to Restoration and Innovation**

Not all construction decisions are geared towards selling a new instrument. Partially removed from marketing is a maker’s engagement with repairing or altering instruments. In most of these cases, performers will approach the maker and ask for work to be done on their instrument that increases or restores its capability to be played. Often the instrument has undergone an injury that has affected the sound qualities or rendered the instrument unusable. When faced with reconstructing an instrument, a maker may have to readdress the issues outlined above, but they may also have to concern themselves with new issues. Restoring an instrument to its earlier form is not the same as mending an instrument using upgraded materials or innovative engineering. How do makers balance between these concepts and to what extent do they interact with the players to facilitate these repairs?

Haynes mentions that many instrument makers comment on how they can “fix” or “improve” an instrument through restoration using modern innovations in regards to working with European period instruments (2007:158). He argues that this mentality is uncalled for as the instruments do not necessarily need improving or even fixing (2007:159; 161). When an instrument is beyond playability, however, repair is the only option and decisions must be made as to how to go about making a repair and whether or not
innovations should be incorporated. When considering restoration of an instrument to its original state, the integrity of the previous design and material choices come under scrutiny by the maker undertaking the repairs. In the case of Sam Zygmuntowicz, he attempts to follow the original maker’s construction as closely as possible, especially when the maker is someone with a reputation for quality such as Stradivari, claiming it is the most basic and deepest form of flattery (Marchese 2007:22). Gene Drucker thought that buying a Stradivarius violin would eradicate most of his repair and adjustment concerns, but he claims the Rosgonyl is temperamental and he took it to Zygmuntowicz to have slight reconstructions addressed (such as adjusting the instrument’s bass bar) (Marchese 2007:26).

In this situation, the maker repairing an instrument primarily attempts a reconstitution of the instrument to its original state, but what would be the case if the instrument was perceived by the maker to be of lower quality than instruments they construct or to be a design outdated in comparison to contemporary or professional performance standards? Nicolas Magriel made a decision when repairing a sarangi to replace the wooden pathari or fingerboard with a handcrafted copper one. His reasoning was based on the idea that copper would increase the instrument’s durability and maintain an ease for the player to move freely underneath the string. After making his repairs that incorporated his innovative pathari, he was approached by some players with perfectly serviceable traditional wooden pathari to have theirs replaced with a cooper pathari of Magriel’s design. From the reactions of these players and Magriel’s altered instruments, new questions about the role of maker as repairperson arise: if the maker injects innovation into a repair, how is that informed and how does it in turn inform the player’s performance and concepts of quality, authenticity, or playing style? What determines how much of repair

35 The technique for “fretting” a sarangi is placing one’s finger underneath the string, pad of the finger downward, and pushing up with the nail of the finger to create a stop determining the pitch of the bowed string. It is the rubbing of the fingers underneath the strings that wears the fingerboard to the point of needing repair or replacement (Magriel 2007:7).
36 Taken from a conference presentation on sarangi construction by Nicolas Magriel at the Horniman Museum’s Soundscapes of South Asia conference, 2008.
work is restoration and how much innovation? Does the maker’s job, then, shift from rejuvenating an instrument to recreating one (restoration versus redesign)? These dichotomies are multifaceted and are not so easily answered nor are there clear stopping points on the spectrum between creator and restorer upon which a maker will fall, but bearing in mind the complexity of relationships between repairing and building instruments, the role of the maker becomes slightly more accessible and able to be analyzed further.

How Instruments Build Their Makers

We have seen here that not only do makers build instruments upon which players perform, but also instruments perform through players and assist in formulating the ways in which a maker may build them. The pluralistic connectivity at work within the maker-instrument-player network is starting to unravel enough to outline a path of further research. Performance techniques able to be played and incorporated by performers have a bearing on construction. How members of a musical community perceive an instrument’s authenticity[^37] becomes a factor in historical and ethnic settings. Perceptions of authentic national and ethnic identities can also be supported or constructed through musical instruments. They can also assist governmental movements to generate and maintain a tourist industry or rally local heritage for political reasons. On a more personal level, they can instill nostalgic reactions and embody emotive responses to social or cultural narratives. Instruments can be removed from sheer musical presentation and regarded as masterful artworks, highlighting craftsmanship and dialogues punctuated through ornamentation. We have seen how instruments can be markers for wealth, social power, and localized status markers within a musical community. An instrument can connect a series of makers,

performers, or other instruments. They can be targets for marketing demographic groups or the groups can embrace an instrument, assisting in formulating genre performance and stylistic aesthetics. Musical instruments are active agents within a musical community.

What, then, is the role of the maker in these interactions? How do makers support performance techniques and how are they informed when altering their instruments as a result of their understanding of performance techniques? To what extent do they inject their self identity into an instrument or allow an instrument’s inherent qualities to formulate it for them? What are their sensibilities of quality, craftsmanship, and artistic expression and how are these sensibilities manifested through an instrument’s construction? What influence does marketing have on maker’s choices and vice versa?

Case Studies and Chapter Outline

I will explore these questions more thoroughly through engaging with three instrument builders. I chose to work with contemporary makers whom are focusing on building Early Music instruments to address the issues outlined above more fully. Included in my research is David Roman Drums, a percussion building company based in Berlin that produces medieval and renaissance style drums and Iranian frame and goblet drums. They incorporate innovative tuning devices and skin preparation techniques in their designs and work in a large workshop environment that employs several apprentices. I also work with Jan Goorissen (and indirectly, the co-designer of his instruments, Floris-Jan van der Voort), builder of a viola de gamba that includes electric pickups on some models and experiments with material choices for some of his acoustic models to alter sonic qualities and functionality aspects. Goorissen and van der Voort are based in Holland and the former, who is the main designer and builder, works with two assistants in a small shop in which he oversees his assistant’s construction of wooden recorders while he experiments with his viol innovations. Thirdly, I meet with Julian Goodacre to learn more about his construction methods of the various bagpipes, including a design based on a Cornish bagpipe, an
instrument of which no original instruments remain, thus his work is entirely extrapolated from iconographic and literary sources. Julian works alone in a small shop in Peebles, Scotland and leaves much of the business end of his vocation in the capable hands of his brother.

Within these makers, there will necessarily be concepts of performance practice, genre targeted marketing, authenticity issues being addressed, sensibilities of craftsmanship that drive them, construction of status and lineage associations, and heritage celebrations through their wares in addition to the basic construction choices and interests any instrument maker may possess. I interview all three, visit their workshops, and/or undertake short apprenticeships with them in order to be forced to make construction decisions myself. I also observe their interactions with players, assist the makers at tradeshows and with marketing on the internet, and conducted research on historical construction methods for them. In addition, I speak with their customers and commissioners to get a partial take on the player agency working within the network.

My three case studies will also help me focus on some of the connections more specifically. Authenticity issues are more prominent within the construction of period style instruments and instruments with ethnic association. The demographics for each maker’s market will overlap, but makers will also approach each demographic group with unique marketing tactics. All of them make hand-crafted instruments that are individually made with a more discerning player and medium to higher income bracket markets in mind, but the costs of their instruments span a range of prices, from relatively low to somewhat higher in cost, that may yield differences in interactions between players and each of the three makers with whom I work. The various workshop settings will give insight into how what may affect maker decisions and interactions with their musical community. All three of the makers sell their wares to both Early Music performers with a strong sense of historically informed performance and performers of related genres whose performance style affords
them a reduced concern for historically informed presentation, primarily gothic rock bands that incorporate medieval elements into their presentations. Each of the makers with whom I work engages in different levels of interaction with these groups. This should prove useful for determining how much direct player-maker interactions and genre targeting have within the process of making construction-related decisions.

To begin with I will provide information on the Neo-Medievalist Gothic community and the music valued within the scene. This is necessary to gain a fuller understanding of the aesthetics and sensibilities with which the maker will interact and which they address on a regular basis. I discuss my personal interactions with the community which afforded me information on details of the general scene’s activities and levels of interest and influence members of the group hold as regards Early Music related performance. In addition, I specify various styles of music within the Neo-Medievalist Gothic genre, outlining both traits common to most styles and traits unique in specific sub-genres which may concern makers.

With this social setting described, I begin unravelling the role of the maker starting with the case study of David Roman Drums in chapter three. Here I discuss the connections a builder may face in the dual role of maker and performer. In particular, I focus upon the ways in which knowledge of the scene and an understanding of playing techniques assist in establishing authority, as well as how the maker upholds notions of integrity and tradition through both resisting change and innovation.

Chapter four presents my work with Jan Goorissen and his perception of historical accuracy and outlooks on modern presentation. Through his electric viola de gamba, Goorissen has created an instrument that meets the standards of his personal construction of authenticity. I also discuss the nature of his instrument’s role in the maker-instrument-player network and how the flow of influence moves from Goorissen to the players and returns to influence Goorissen beyond that of his original intentions once the maker and his instrument have interacted with performers active in the Neo-Medievalist Gothic scene.
Next I present the case study of Julian Goodacre, bagpipe maker. Here I show that the connections of the maker-instrument-player network need not be entirely direct to have similar influence and effects. Furthermore, the interactions that occur more remotely are similar to those in the previous case studies in which immediate contact is more common, but with some differing considerations and responses.

All the chapters include discussions of material choices, tool use, and connections to the maker-instrument-player network. The final chapter will draw conclusions from my three case studies as well as partially unpack the complexities of economic considerations, recounting trade show displays, internet presence, and live performance marketing methods as well as genre influences and target demographics. Lastly, I offer some suggestions for further research in more specific areas. I will also include brief discussions of interaction perceptions by players of period style instruments in Early Music influenced rock performance\textsuperscript{38} to preview the possibility of a study that focuses upon their role in the evolution of instrument construction.

Through this thorough investigation, I hope to present an expanding series of interactions that when more clearly understood reveals the importance of the role of an instrument maker on a variety of levels. I show that even the smallest decisions can direct an instrument’s construction to embody specific and powerful sensibilities upheld by the maker. On a broader scale, studying the trends of maker’s decisions, it is possible to follow the shifts in cultural trends through which these decisions are informed and in turn how they support cultural trends. This study applies not only to musicology, sociology, and anthropology as a means of making sense of musical genre evolution and the ways actors in

\textsuperscript{38} For example, Mordus Virens, a Mexican goth band that specializes in Medieval style music, uses a Cornish bagpipe tuned using just tuning made by Julian Goodacre. Unto Ashes from the United States, incorporates a hurdy gurdy with a built in contact pick up as a side project from one of the drum builders at David Roman Drums. Corvus Corax, a German Medieval musical spectacle, uses tabors and frame drums with an internal pneumatic tuning system, also built at David Roman Drums. QNTAL, another German band that mixes gothic rock with Medieval and Renaissance aesthetics, adds one of Jan Van der Voort’s electric viola da gamba to their sonic arsenal. My conversations with each of these performers as well as others are included in Chapter six.
a musical network transmit values, formulate aesthetic trends, and shed light on the philosophical debates engaged by craftspersons, it also encompasses and pertains to economics and marketing, education and apprenticeship discourses, historiography, iconography and Medievalism. It can serve as an aide to presenting notions of musical development in the classroom as well as link popular cultures studies, performativity discussion, and material culture research.

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39 Marshall makes a distinction between Medieval studies and Medievalism, in which Medieval studies attempts to research how medieval culture truly was and Medievalism researches the ways in which it is perceived today, primarily in popular culture representation (2007:4).
Chapter Two
Contemporary Sounds of Darker Times:
Performing the Past and the Present in the Neo-Medievalist Gothic Scene

When beginning this project, I was already well-versed in the music of what can be called Neo-Medievalist Gothic performance. In addition to being a manager of two record stores that sold music from the genre, I have been a fan and a percussionist performing within the scene since the early 1980s. It was observation of and participation in the Neo-Medievalist Gothic scene (and the Gothic music scene in general) that lead me to select the scene as a context for this study. My aim was to explore the ways in which instrument builders and their wares influence and are influenced by the musical scene in which they operate, and I felt the instrumentation of the music played in the Neo-Medievalist Gothic scene would provide interesting and clear connections between the maker and player through their instruments. When I first listened to some of the music performed by the bands I will discuss below, I found that typically they used a combination of Early Music-style instruments and instruments regularly heard in contemporary rock bands. Further investigation showed that some instruments were Early Music instruments incorporated without alteration whilst others were modified in some way, presumed at the time to make them more useful or aesthetically pleasing to the genre’s performers and fans. The coexistence of the importance placed on historical association and numerous modern traits within the scene was not only fascinating for me, but easily detectable. I found that through studying the sensibilities of the Neo-Medievalist Gothic music scene in terms of its musical instruments a series of questions emerged that shaped my research and the form of this thesis. For example, in what ways do the instruments played within a genre impact upon or influence the scene in which they are played (as if an “inward” movement) and how do they impact (“backwards”) on to the makers who create them? And how do these interactions
impact back on the instruments themselves? Gaining an understanding of the scene can unveil connections and channels of interactions that can give insight to these questions, and in turn emphasize the role of the maker in this dynamic system. In this chapter, I will provide an overview of the Neo-Medievalist Gothic scene and explore its relevance to my study of the maker-instrument-player network. This will include a brief discussion of the development of the Neo-Medievalist Gothic scene within the wider Gothic panorama, and an introduction to the scene’s music and some of its aesthetic priorities. I will also outline how the observation of this subcultural group can assist me in addressing the main topic of this thesis; the maker-instrument-player network.

**Neo-Medievalism in the Gothic Subculture**

The Gothic scene in general is difficult to describe and to attempt to do so in full would be well beyond the scope of this thesis. A basic understanding of the Goth scene, its development, and the broadening of its aesthetic spectrum is necessary, however, in order to gain a better understanding of the specific of the Neo-Medievalist scene which makes up a significant portion of the Gothic community. According to Jaarentup (2000:25) the Gothic music scene was born of an evolving punk scene that encouraged the embracing and study of literature and philosophy in order to arm community members (often called “Noble Punks” at the time (2000:26)) with knowledge, thereby more or less opposing the anarchist approach of certain other parts of the subculture driven semi-rebellious social commentary (2000:28-29). When publications such as the *New Music Express* began labelling certain bands as Gothic (Schmidt and Neumann-Braun 2004:254), the relation between Gothic literature and art and the subcultural scene became more pronounced (Goodlad and Bibby 2007:2). As it solidified, the scene developed its own aesthetic sensibilities and social

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1 Excellent studies of the general Gothic subculture scene have been published by Hodkinson (2002), Jerrentrup (2000), Spooner (2006), Spooner and McEvoy (eds. 2007), Goodlad and Bibby (eds. 2007) among others as well as a multitude of useful resource material concerning the media, fashion, and music of the scene (see bibliography).
channels (Jerrentrup 2000:26-27). Occasionally and incorrectly said to be a fad with the expectation that the scene would fade and all but disappear (Spooner 2006:155-159), the Gothic scene not only proved itself to be beyond a trend (Spooner 2006:165) but went on to evolve into a lifestyle choice. Like with many other dynamic living cultures, it branched out into various subgroups that focused upon particular aspects of the budding Goth scene (Jerrentrup 2000:31). This formed a spectrum of Gothic sensibilities which have in turn influenced and developed along with parallel musical styles.

Furthermore, Gavin Baddeley (2010:7) points out that Goths often look centuries into the past to find inspiration, and specifically, according to Jerrentrup (2000:39), the Gothic scene pays special attention to the European Middle Ages, aesthetically speaking. Historically associated art (Kilpatrick 2004:207-236) as well as Gothic architecture (Spooner and McEvoy. 2007:51-53) is a primary area of influence from which scene members draw bleak or “darker” outlooks on music and fashion (Spooner 2006:10). One of the subgroups to form as a result of this was the Neo-Medievalist Gothic scene. Generally speaking, the Neo-Medievalist Goth scene (sometimes called the Medieval Gothic folk scene, Medieval pagan rock scene, or Mittlealtern/Middle Ages Goth scene) embraces an association with historical imagery, in particular that which evokes a medieval or ancient era through fashion, media, and social events. The community members may participate in several ways such as dancing to medieval-influenced music at nightclubs; posting entries on online forums discussing the historical accuracy of related Gothic literature, art, or films; enjoying fantasy or horror role playing games; or re-enacting historical battles. Arthurian themes, medieval style garb, woodcuts of plague victims or fair maidens, Maypole dances, and Gothic architectural traits are among the historically associated elements that appear at social gatherings, in publications, and related popular culture releases. Relatively speaking, the Neo-Medievalist Gothic scene is small compared to other branches of the Gothic subculture, but they are still fully recognized and embraced by the Gothic community in general. Jerrentrup lists
\textit{Mittlealter} Goths as being one of the main factions within the German scene (2000:34), whilst Schmidt and Neumann-Braun (2004:277-278) provide a more detailed description, addressing the sub-scene’s established nature. The establishment of this subculture is also well-rooted within the scene itself. For instance, Megan Balank devotes an entire section to Medieval Goths on her Gothic [Stereo] Types fan-run page\footnote{Balank. 2005-2010. Balank lists them as type 14 of the first wave of Gothic types. Many references to related music appear throughout the website. \url{http://www.blackwaterfall.com/14medieval.php} (accessed 13 May, 2010.)} and Darker Fashions, a web blog devoted to Gothic clothing, features a section simply entitled Neo-Medieval Goth\footnote{\url{http://darkerfashions.blogspot.com/2010/03/neo-medieval-goth-black-light-district.html} (accessed 25 July, 2011.)}. Music within the scene is not exempt from this label, either. Last.fm, one of the largest online radio services, hosts specific Neo-Medieval Goth and related channels,\footnote{When searching for Neo-Medievalist Gothic music on Last.fm, a choice of various tags associated with several hosted radio stations is presented to the visitor. The listener can then select a tag to play the station of their choice. Tags include neo-medeivalist goth, neomedieval goth, mittlealtern goth, medieval, neomedieval, mittlealtern, and many others. There is a great amount of crossover, but due to the nature of the fans and artists posting their music, there is no standardisation with labelling the tracks played. As a result, each tag will have some songs unique to that channel, even though, arguably a majority of the tracks could be associated with any of the tags in the search results. Admittedly, in contrast, some tracks are more rock oriented whilst others are more traditional, folk, or historical in nature. \url{http://www.last.fm} (accessed repeatedly for this project between 23 August, 2005 – 22 September, 2011.)} and many goth bands label themselves as Neo-Medievalist (e.g. The Soil Bleeds Black).\footnote{\url{http://www.soilbleedsblack.com/soilbleedsblack/} (accessed 12 September, 2011.)}

The Neo-Medievalist Gothic Scene and Social Groups in London

I first heard Neo-Medievalist Gothic music in 1988 whilst living in the United States and I have been involved with it on some level since then, making contacts in North Carolina, New York, Illinois, Alaska, Hawai`i and outside the U.S. in Japan, Mexico, Germany, and Brazil. Despite this extensive list of contacts, I did not know anything about the Neo-Medievalist Gothic scene in the United Kingdom. Before moving to London, I joined the social networking service Meetup.com to try and find some like-minded people as well as to search for the Gothic community interested in medieval music presentation within the Gothic scene here. I first joined the London Goth Meet Up Group and within a short time, I
was introduced to several other groups including the London Vampire Meet Up Group, the Vampyre Connexion [sic], the London Experimental and Extreme Music Meet Up Group, and the London Metal Meet Up Group. Both as part of my research and returning to my usual lifestyle once I settled in to living in London, I attended meetings for each of these groups, engaged in discussion on their online forums, and offered assistance with organising events and publications to enhance the groups’ membership benefits. I found that either before my joining a group or as a result of my involvement, each of these groups showed (and still show) notable interest, in Early Music or Neo-Medievalist Gothic styles, albeit at different levels.

In particular, the London Vampire Meet Up Group (LVMG) has shown specific interest in “historical” and “Gothic subculture” performances of Early music. At several meetings, which took place in a pub called the Devonshire Arms in Camden, many of the disc jockeys would include Neo-Medievalist Gothic tracks in their set and occasionally I would find myself involved in a conversation about medieval fashion and music, or simply expressing mutual interest in medieval culture and its contrast with modern society. One of the Deejays and leader of the Meet Up group, a man who has changed his name to Thunder Raven, explained his particular interest in historical settings to me. He observed that if one were to take the form of a vampire (keep in mind that this is the vampire appreciation group), this would involve having lived a very long time, in keeping with the notion that vampires are immortal. Such a being would most likely have memories of medieval times assuming the person was “turned” (into a vampire) before this time, typically through being bitten by one. His reasoning, then, was that by embracing an interest in medieval culture, he was generating a false nostalgia that evoked the sense of thinking as a vampire might in terms of longing for and/or appreciating an older era.\(^{45}\) Some of the events hosted by the

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\(^{45}\) Interestingly, he imparted this information to me whilst seated in a large medieval-style wooden throne, complete with red crushed velvet covered cushions and a silver cross, against a black backdrop in his living room. Conversation with Thunder Raven 15 February, 2009.
LVMG specifically focus on medieval association. *The Dance of the Damned*, for instance, was held in the “medieval style Hall of Arms” at the Clink Prison museum, near London Bridge.\(^{46}\) A Viking re-enactment weekend event was held jointly with other groups such as the Medieval Siege Society.\(^{47}\) Members were also invited to Dragonne Tayles, a literature reading event presenting stories about mythical creatures at which “complimentary wine for medieval maidens and gallant knights, all served from huge tea pots” was offered.\(^{48}\)

![Figure 2: Thunder Raven, disc jockey and leader of the London Vampire Meetup Group, regularly plays Neo-Medievalist Gothic music.](image)

\(^{46}\) The night did not seem to feature any medieval music, though, according to the website site. [http://www.vampiresoflondon.com/messages/boards/thread/1783664/0#3483600](http://www.vampiresoflondon.com/messages/boards/thread/1783664/0#3483600) (accessed 12 September, 2011.)

\(^{47}\) [http://www.vampiresoflondon.com/messages/boards/thread/2980463/0#8344463](http://www.vampiresoflondon.com/messages/boards/thread/2980463/0#8344463) (accessed 12 September, 2011.)

\(^{48}\) [http://www.vampiresoflondon.com/messages/boards/thread/2105936/0#4768115](http://www.vampiresoflondon.com/messages/boards/thread/2105936/0#4768115) (accessed 12 September, 2011.)
Another member of the group, Christian Zaire, organized events between 1995 to 2006 that featured historically themed music and settings. The events, which he called Gothaelternal, would attempt to be what he considered a “think tank” in which the participants would sit and talk quietly with music, dance, or theatre being performed or played in the background. The invocation of a medieval aesthetic was a recurring theme of Zaire’s Gothaelternal nights, which he has not organized since he fell ill with severe food poisoning in early 2007. Nonetheless, he informs me that he plans to hold an event in Spring 2012 that will feature medieval music and medieval style food.

Figure 3: Christian Zaire, host of Gothaelternal and member of the London Vampire Meet Up Group and the London Goth Meet Up Group, at the Greenwich International Early Music Festival, 2007, Trinity College, Greenwich.

http://uk.groups.yahoo.com/group/gothaeternal/ (accessed 12 September, 2011.) and http://www.vampiresoflondon.com/messages/boards/thread/3687447/0#12200031 (accessed 12 September, 2011.) Both websites seem to be very outdated and publish conflicting information. The information I present here is based on an extrapolation of information taken from these websites and information from interviews with Zaire. 17 June, 2008.

Conversation with Christian Zaire. 11 November, 2008.

Conversation with Christian Zaire. 7 August, 2010.
In 2007, I attended the annual Greenwich International Early Music Festival and invited a few of my new friends along. Zaire (mentioned above) and another LVMG member also attended the festival and both were duly impressed with the live music and the instrument displays. Some discussion of the event happened online on the groups message boards, and soon afterwards I was approached to be an assistant organizer of the group in the hopes that I would bring more music events to the attention of its members (among other duties).

In 2008, I again mentioned the Greenwich Festival at a meeting and suggested that one of the concerts in particular may be of interest to the group in a post on their online forum. Promptly, the concert was announced (by Zaire and myself) as one of the group’s meet up events. 15-20 members of the group confirmed that they wished to attend. Some members researched the event and I posted links to the band’s music pages (attendance at a concert by the group Joglaresa was proposed by Zaire and Thunder Raven). Later, the event was also announced to the London Goth Meet Up Group (between which a small amount of membership crossover exists with the LVMG) and they too included the event on their calendar of suggested activities. I was told (by one LVMG member) that members of another London-based Gothic social group, the Vampyre Connexion, which is more focused on speculating upon and emulating a vampire-esque lifestyle than the LVMG, which is more of a pop culture appreciation group, may also be attending the concert. Having only a partial acquaintance with the members of this group at the time, I could not discern their

52 As a matter of upgrading the LVMG website, some older posts and emails between members were lost, including the discussion to which I refer here. The link I present here is my invitation to group members with the event’s details. Although it shows it on the website now, because my status has changed, at the time of this posting I was not an organiser.

53 I was also asked to write concert and film reviews for the newsletter, organise monthly meetups, annual film festivals, and rotate through weekly online welcoming of new members.
http://www.vampiresoflondon.com/messages/boards/thread/571531/0#22581238 (accessed 12 September, 2011.)

54 http://www.londonGothic.co.uk/boards/thread/5716537?thread=5716537 (accessed 12 September, 2011.)

56 Conversation with “Isis” aka Maggie Hopkins, a member of both groups. 29 October, 2008.
level of attendance, but I was later informed by a Vampyre Connexion organizer\textsuperscript{57} that the group was represented at the concert by a few members.

![Image of three people at an event](image)

*Figure 4: (L-R) Rob Calder, Emma "Dark Morte", and myself, all three members of the London Goth, Metal, and Vampire Meet Up Groups, attending the Greenwich International Early Music Festival, Trinity College, Greenwich, Nov 2008.*

Other meet up groups of which I am a member also had interest in this Early Music festival. Participants in the Experimental and Extreme Music Group and the London Metal Meet Up Group seemed less interested in historically informed performances of Early Music\textsuperscript{58}, but I encountered some crossover between the musical genres discussed within their groups and Early Music, particularly by musicians in the groups. Their interest lies more with the instruments themselves and their incorporation alongside the genres with which they are traditionally associated into their favoured music styles, such as heavy metal, electro-acoustic improvised music, and electronic dance music that incorporate instruments

\textsuperscript{57} I attended a LVMG and Vampyre Connexion sponsored Christmas event in December 2008 and spoke with a representative of the Vampyre Connexion whose name was not given to me.

\textsuperscript{58} At a joint meeting including these two groups and the London Rock Meet Up Group, I held conversations with a handful of musicians that all expressed they preferred the use of Early Music instruments in a rock or experimental setting, rather than a traditional Early Music presentation. Big Red Pub, Holloway Road, Camden, London. 15 October, 2008.
other than traditional rock instruments. As a result, some of the members of these two groups planned to attend the festival to seek out instruments or gain ideas for their own music projects, in addition to the basic entertainment of the event.

Let me use this as an example of how Actor-Network Theory can help describe conduits of activity and influence between actors, taking myself as a starting point. With ANT, any starting point is acceptable because theoretically, all points can potentially lead to any other in a network and all points within a network are networks themselves. Now, my connections to Early Music via my interest in Neo-Medievalist Gothic music and the beginnings of my Ph.D. research put me in a position to generate and maintain several flows of influence and action. Other meet up group members have reacted in their own ways and interests have merged, been brought to a shared discussion, or expanded and evolved to move in their own directions through my instigations. The Greenwich Early Music event has also served as a form of actor in the system. It provided motivation, a meeting place, a focus for cultural events, and discussion before, during, and after the festival, in person and online. The music performed at the concerts presented at Trinity College may have gained new fans and influenced musicians. Whether attending the performances, instrument displays, participating in purchases, or other events, a series of actors and networks are established or maintained and catalyzed into interactive relationships of varying levels.

This offers an example of what happens in a given network and how observing a system of dialectically interacting entities through the “lens” of Actor-Network Theory assists in describing the social setting more clearly. But how does this fit into this research project and why is showing the details of the London meet up groups, Gothic subculture

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59 A discussion of sonics, improvisation, and experimentation that parallels and unites Early Music with present day avant garde music performance as seen by Jan Goorissen is presented in chapter 4.

60 I did not encounter any of the members of these groups at the festival on days when I attended, but I heard from the organizer of the Extreme and Experimental Music Group that they were represented in Greenwich. Shortly after gathering this information, this group became defunct, so I was not able to inquire further. Phone conversation with Darren, leader of the EEMG. 12 December, 2008.
members, and Early Music events helpful in gaining an understanding of the maker-
instrument-player network? Firstly, the system I just described forms part of the outlying
network in with the players in the maker-instrument-player network reside and operate. In
addition, the makers also move about inside, outside, and through this system, gathering
and distributing influences, manipulating concepts and conventions, and manifesting the
experiences of these “travels” in the instruments they produce, expose, inject into, and
impose upon these musical communities. My involvement in the London Neo-Medievalist
Gothic scene roots my research in a local community within which I can double as
participant and observer, or insider and outsider, allowing me to balance emic and etic
perspectives. It also affords me the opportunity to express the tensions, achievements, and
transformations encountered between varying positions in a musical community that a
builder may also experience and which may assist to clarify the maker’s role. My
involvement in the Neo-Medievalist Gothic scene is not merely causal, but also an integral
part of my methodology.

**Revising Revivalism: the Influence of the Early Music Movement on Neo-Medievalist
Gothic Performance**

As with the Gothic subculture more generally, music plays a key role in the Neo-
Medievalist scene, supporting the shared sensibilities of the community’s members. An
important component of the music’s style is achieved through the use of traditional and
Early Music instruments; their striking visual aspects and unique timbres affording the
invocation of popularly accepted constructions of bygone eras. A resurgence in Early Music
performance, brought about by enthusiasts such as Arnold Dolmetsch in the first half of the
twentieth century, triggered a revival of Early Music that moved from an academic-
based hobby to a popular trend by the mid 1960s and 70s (Haskell 1988). According to Livingston,
if a revival is to be maintained beyond being a mere fad, a commercial element rooted in
modern media must emerge (1999:79).\textsuperscript{61} For the Early Music revival, this manifested itself as a body of commercially available recordings of commonly accepted takes on Early Music performance. In the UK this was spearheaded by prominent performers such as David Munrow, weighting the commonly accepted performance aesthetics towards these performers’ interpretations (1999:76-77).

The Neo-Medievalist Gothic music scene is not a revivalist movement. According to Livingston’s definition, a revival generally attempts to bring back a body of music that has fallen out of contemporary performance practice, either for a great period of time or was never transmitted in recorded form, written or audio, in an opposition to contemporary culture (1999:66, 68). Neo-Medievalism within the Gothic scene instead revisits the existing body of music recordings made during the Early Music revival (i.e. present-day performances of Early Music) and experiments with incorporating Early Music into other genres. New genres created or older ones emulated, are then potentially used to oppose other contemporary sub-cultures through incorporating these cultural resources.\textsuperscript{62} Alternatively, they are simply upheld as accepted forms of expression that promote the sensibilities of the group. Clearly Neo-Medievalist Gothic music and the scene in which it thrives are part of a contemporary culture, embracing modernity as much as a conflated sense of history. The musicians that play the scene’s music are not reconstructing in an attempt to replace that which has been lost, but rather are involved in creating something new using building blocks from the past and present. The Early Music revival in part provides the Neo-Medievalist Gothic music scene with the tools, palettes, and styles that can be employed to construct their own set of aesthetics and values. The texts interpreted by the Early Music movement performers generated a series of modern recordings that offered a set of standards by which Early Music is now judged (Livingston 1999:76) and which Taruskin claims extends to set a

\textsuperscript{61} The three makers with whom I work on this project are excellent examples of this.

\textsuperscript{62} Drawing from Jerrentrup’s idea that modern Gothic culture and music is a rebellion that uses research as one of its main weapons. See Jerrentrup 2000.

In addition, the oppositional trend of revivals, such as the Early Music movement, has made them open to alliance with parallel social and cultural situations, in particular through music (Livingston 1999:81). Neo-Medievalist Gothic performers have, in part, paralleled the opposition of this movement from which it draws some of its historical association and they have also followed trends laid out by the Early Music revival (Yri 2008:55). Jerrentrup suggests that the Neo-Medievalist Gothic trend (in music) of incorporating Medieval themes, is a revival in a sense, by integrating historical elements into modern presentation (2000:42), and Yri states that this integration constitutes a collapsing of historical associations and geographical evocations through sonic elements to bring about a pseudo-spiritual and exotic feel to the scene’s music that supports the Gothic sensibilities (2008:53, 59, 67). The term “pseudo-spiritualist” may be more accurate than Neo-Medievalist Goth as Yri labels the band’s style, but even as with the name of the band, Dead Can Dance seems to attempt to conjure images of haunted landscapes and solemn dark castles or graveyards. Yri is correct in suggesting these sensibilities match those of the subculture, however, and the conflation of history is a common occurrence, with Dead Can Dance being only one of many performers in whose music this appears. As we will see below (in chapter four), this reintegration of Early Music sonic qualities and performance sensibilities can enhance modern performance styles and vice versa, making historical performance trends, especially those embraced in recent times, as well as new innovative approaches to playing, become desirable attributes for Gothic players and Early music performers alike (Page 2000:133-149; Ferneyhough 2000:151-171.)

Yri also traces the aesthetics of Neo-Medievalist Gothic music directly to David Munrow via his recordings released in the 1970s. (2008:53, 55, 67).
**Homogeneity in Neo-Medievalist Gothic Music: Instrumentation and Themes**

Neo-Medievalist music is as varied as the broader general Gothic music spectrum into which it is seated. In addition it draws from other styles of Gothic music and has evolved to cultivate its own spectrum that in many ways parallels the larger, umbrella of Gothic music in general. As within the general Gothic music genre, Neo-Medievalist styles include rock (Subway to Sally), techno (Cultus Ferox), folk ballads (Carol Tatum/Angels of Venice), dark ambient (Arcana), and classically influenced material (Ophelia’s Dream), as well as projects that attempt to maintain a high level of historically accurate Medieval music presentation. Despite the variations, though, there are certain common traits: all share the incorporation of melodies derived from medieval sources and/or the use of Early Music instruments.

The historical visual and sonic character can be attributed primarily to the incorporation of Early Music instrumentation. Typically, instruments played by Neo-Medievalist Gothic bands include lutes, recorders, frame drums, medieval-style double-headed bass drums, bagpipes, dulcimers, hurdy gurdies, various fiddles such as rebecs or kits, shawms, and/or schalmei. Typically, these instruments are used in conjunction with standard rock instrumentation of electric guitars, bass guitars, keyboards, drum kits, and amplified vocals, although there are certainly a large number of performers who choose to restrict their instrumentation to historically associated acoustic instruments. Of course, groups that include these elements are not necessarily Neo-Medievalist Gothic projects. In addition, a project that is not considered Neo-Medievalist Gothic by the artists, themselves, may well be embraced by members of the Neo-Medievalist Gothic scene (Yri 2008:57). Also, many performers of Early Music and traditional European and Middle Eastern music have a partial fan base within the Neo-Medievalist Gothic community, potentially brought about

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64 Schalmei is a floating term and is both the German word for shawm (which has already been listed above) and a multi-belled, valve key brass instrument, also of German origin. Both instruments are used in Neo-Medievalist Gothic music.
through musical reference to these performers and their music by some of the pioneering Neo-Medievalist Gothic bands, such as Dead Can Dance (Yri 2008:53, 68). For example, Joglaresa, a UK based Early Music group that typically performs at Early Music festivals and church or concert hall performance settings, marketing their presentations to fans of classical music, but often will have representation of the Neo-Medievalist Gothic community at each performance suggesting a fan base that expands outside of Joglaresa’s targeted market and into the Gothic subculture.65

Neo-Medievalist Gothic performers and their music share defining sonic or visual traits with these main influential styles, namely Early Music and traditional European and Middle Eastern music. Similar instrumentation, clothing that reflects historical associations, or traditional melodic content may all be present. The differing factor which the Neo-Medievalist Gothic community member commonly embraces is a purposeful departure from historical accuracy, either with visually related fashion or sonically related musical elements, that firmly plants the presentation within a Gothic subculture context.

**Early Music versus Neo-Medievalist Gothic Music**

The aesthetic differences between Early Music and Neo-Medievalist Gothic music range from opposite extremes to practically identical. This can also be the case within the Neo-Medievalist Gothic scene. Dead Can Dance, Corvus Corax, Faun, The Soil Bleeds Black, and David Munrow’s Early Music Consort of London all have recorded a version of the same saltarello, but whilst Neo-Medievalist Gothic fans may well enjoy the David Munrow version, 66 it is lacking the attitude brought about through visual associations or the

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65 I attended two of Joglaresa’s concerts in November, 2009, both of which were also attended by several members of the Gothic subculture scene. One of the concerts, a performance given at the 2009 Greenwich International Early Music Festival at Trinity College, London, was arranged to be an official meeting for a Gothic social club, the London Vampire Meet Up Group. The group conducted their own promotion for the concert to their members and friends and generated a small, but significant percentage of Joglaresa’s audience for the performance (perhaps 5 to 10%). For more details, see below.

66 The David Munrow version can be heard here: [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DKxdCSbAtOE](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DKxdCSbAtOE)
introduction of rock/Gothic musical aesthetics accepted and expected by Neo-Medievalist
Gothic community members. Dead Can Dance’s version which appears on their 1990 release
Aion on 4AD is as slow and perhaps more simplified than the Early Music Consort’s
recording, and notably heavily influenced by Munrow (Yri 2008:55), but since it was
presented in a series of albums that show the two main band members wearing all black or
long flowing white ruffled garb, images of darkness, and released on a label (4AD) whose
other bands are rock or aetherial post punk and goth, their recording is immediately
associated with the Goth scene.  

![Figure 5: UK and Australian based recording artists Dead Can Dance.](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WQjLvRw7rs)

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67 The Dead Can Dance version can be heard here: [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WQjLvRw7rs](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WQjLvRw7rs)
The Corvus Corax version, which was released a year earlier than the Dead Can Dance version in 1989 on their first album Ante Casi Peccati, is much more upbeat, strongly played in 2:4 time, and higher in energy, giving it a rock or modern dance feel, their version sonically embraces a modern presentation.\textsuperscript{68} Combine that with the band’s typical outlandish costumes of dark leather that allow for their Gothic style tattoos to be visible along with their brightly coloured blue, green, and pink hair, Corvus Corax maintains a Neo-Medievalist Gothic presentation, regardless of the level of historical accuracy of their music.

\textbf{Figure 6}: German Neo-Medievalist Gothic band Corvus Corax.

The Soil Bleeds Black’s version is in many ways similar to that of David Munrow, but includes a contemporary acoustic guitar and a trap drum, thus removing it from an Early Music style in the perception of some Neo-Medievalist Gothic music fans. Their press photos

\textsuperscript{68} A live version of the Corvus Corax interpretation can be heard here: \url{http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TlIXV2NhLb_0}
wearing black hooded robes or spiked black leather clothing standing in graveyards secures
this removal, regardless of the sonic qualities of the music, and more importantly, places the
band squarely within the realm of Neo-Medievalist Gothic music (Hodkinson. 2002:41-43)
(see figure 6 below).

Members of the Neo-Medievalist scene have tolerances for various levels of
perceived historical accuracy within musical presentation. It would be unfair to say that all
members of the community disregard historical elements as long as the performers wear
black clothing and suggest pre-Baroque eras with their song titles. However, historical
accuracy typically takes a secondary position among the hierarchy of values placed on the
genre’s presentations. A listener, it seems, only needs to be reminded of an earlier period of
history for the Neo-Medievalist connection to be made. Also, any level of Gothic crossover is
acceptable, no matter how tangible, and it need only be perceived by the fan base, not the
performers themselves. Dead Can Dance, for instance, performs works taken from Medieval
songs and based on performance styles informed by texts written in the Middle Ages, yet
they freely incorporate electronic keyboards or modern trap drums on occasion and often
alter melodies to suit the dance aesthetic of their audience. Visually, Dead Can Dance may
wear medieval style garments or something derived from a more Gothic rock fashion.
Brendon Perry and Lisa Gerrard, former members of Dead Can Dance, have stated in
interviews time and time again that they do not categorize themselves as either Gothic or
Neo-Medievalist (although admit the musical influences from both and to appreciating the
large number of fans from the Gothic subculture community), yet arguably, the majority of
their fan base is the Neo-Medievalist Gothic community.

69 For example, Brendon Perry in an interview with a representative from the Arcane Delights
website (http://members.tripod.com/arcane_delights/Dcd/interview.htm (accessed 15 March, 2102))
and Lisa Gerrard in an interview with Barcode Zine (http://www.barcodezine.com/Lisa%20Gerrard%20Interview.htm (accessed 15 March, 2012.)) state they feel the gothic label is a misrepresentation of their music.
It is not a sense of historical accuracy, then, that is important to the Neo-Medievalist Gothic community, but rather an impression of authenticity that places the artists (and the instruments with which they perform) within the genre as perceived by the fans. The makers of Early Music instruments who target Neo-Medievalist performers may have to consider the sensibilities of the genre over the historical accuracy of the construction. There is great overlap between the two, though, and one is not necessarily exclusive of the other. A historically accurate instrument can be an attractive resource for the Neo-Medievalist Gothic performer, as much as it could be considered too dissimilar to the genre’s accepted aesthetics. Evoking a historically early era can be achieved with greater ease and more convincingly through the medium of a period instrument: conveyed through its visual aspects, its unique timbre that differs from commonly used modern instruments, and/or its ability to appeal to a sense of tradition. Commonly two or all three of these traits are inherent in an Early Music instrument.

Because Neo-Medievalist Gothic fans tend to conflate the historical eras from ancient to the end of the Renaissance as being acceptable, historical association with an instrument is not limited to the Middle Ages. Nor, as mentioned above, is association limited to European history, although it is the primary region of interest. Tradition for other geographic areas can be seen in Neo-Medievalist Gothic music, especially if the tradition with which the association is being made can be linked to a specific historical era or European history indirectly. In particular, Near Eastern and Middle Eastern traditions appear regularly in the scene as a reminder of the spoils of Christian crusades. Goblet drums, sistrums, and other instruments brought back to Western Europe made their way into
common use during the end of the Middle Ages,\textsuperscript{70} and thus in turn have been adopted by the Neo-Medievalist Gothic music scene.

The Spectrum of Neo-Medievalist Gothic Music

Like any other living music genre, Neo-Medievalist Gothic music evolves and expands, generating many different styles within the genre. Several labels have been given to the multitude of styles considered Neo-Medievalist Gothic: Mittelalter, Middle Ages rock, Medieval Goth, Refined Goth, Medieval Folk Goth. In my opinion, these titles do not describe the music with enough depth to understand the levels of Early Music influence or the inclusion of modern music traits. My research is not centred around the evolution of the styles of Neo-Medievalist Gothic music, but it is important to see the variations within of the genre in terms of constructing, deconstructing, and reconstructing styles. The role of the instrument in this evolution is paramount and realising this expands the observation of the maker-instrument-player network to view several new layers of interaction. If my study were longer, perhaps I would introduce new systems to observe, such as the Early Music Revival-instrument-Gothic Music Scene network and the Early Music-history-media-Gothic music network, et cetera. Studying one of these new systems would easily constitute an entire research project, for that is only a fraction of the information afforded the observer when using ANT as a methodological “tool”. My point here is that to gain a full understanding of what transpires in the maker-instrument-player network I have outlined here, requires an appreciation of how instruments interact with each other. Of course, as discussed in chapter one, musical instruments are inanimate, but they nonetheless have agency and the potential to interact as actants (actors AND networks) within the system through traits such as visual or sonic aspects. Players and makers alike draw from these interactions and, in turn, instill their actions and reactions back into the system via the

\textsuperscript{70} For a discussion of musical instruments brought to Europe as a result of the Crusades, see Music of the Crusades Era here: http://www.umich.edu/~eng415/topics/music/music-article.html (accessed 15 March, 2102).
instruments. The physical, sociological, and cultural traits of these instruments encourage sub-styles to emerge from these interactions. Below I discuss the styles so that a better understanding of the role musical instruments play in developing these styles and vice versa can be elaborated on later in terms of aesthetics, logistics, and social arenas, et cetera. I shall categorize the main styles within Neo-Medievalist Gothic music in terms of the amount and types of modern music incorporated and the types of instrumentation typically used to perform them.\(^{71}\)

1.) **Early Music/Traditional Music** - Neo-Medievalist Gothic music fans often enjoy what they consider to be more or less unadulterated Early Music and traditional music from various backgrounds. As I define this category, the bands that perform Early Music and traditional music primarily play acoustic instruments. The emphasis is on the inclusion of Early Music style instruments, but other traditional types of instruments are also often present. One of the key points for the Gothic listener is the value placed on the perceived historical accuracy of the instruments and performances. Some fans I have encountered make a clear distinction between this and other styles. For example, it was suggested that some fans may go so far as to proclaim that players of this style perform “proper Early Music” and that this would separate them from a group that is “a simple goth band wishing they could play Early Music.”\(^{72}\) The historical and traditional instrumentation most likely evokes a sense of expertise, virtuosity or unaltered stylistic presentation (which may or may not be the case – it is the perception of these attributes by the fans and performers

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\(^{71}\) No performance or music style can ever be completed isolated nor will all performances, even by the same performer, ever fall into the same category. The understanding I hope to achieve here is that there is a spectrum of ways the music is described and perceived which informs the ways in which the players and makers interact through and with the instruments involved. There will always be exceptions and disagreements with categorizing performers and the styles they play.

\(^{72}\) This description came from a conversation with Zaire as we waited for Joglerasa to begin their set at the Greenwich Early Music Festival. I would like to point out he was not referring to himself, but suggesting what others with a typical attitude may think. He felt more Gothic music fans would be receptive to all styles of neo-Medievalist Gothic music, and not discern so harshly between styles. Conversation with Zaire. 11 November, 2008.
that is important here). It may also support a sense of historical nostalgia, academic rigour, and possibly the elitist mentality embraced on occasion by a few Neo-medievalist Gothic music fans. Visual elements can also be present that may contribute to these reactions. Early Music and traditional performers rarely wear lavish Gothic fashions, but rather period clothing or “smart” clothing. They also tend to perform at festivals, churches, or in concert halls: c settings that are rather different in character from the venues used by the types of Neo-Medievalist Gothic presentations discussed below. The group Joglerasa, mentioned above, is a good example of an Early Music ensemble. At their concert in November, 2008, the members either wore period garb or formal contemporary clothes. They discussed the research and background of each piece before they played it, and they used neither electric instruments nor any typical rock instruments, and presented their set in a large Gothic-style church to set the mood.

2.) Gothic Early Music - Performers who present what could easily be considered Early Music or traditional music, but incorporate a Gothic subculture attitude, fall into what I shall call the Gothic Early Music category. The elements of Gothic music may be as non-musical such as clothing choices or visually altered instruments, or the versions of the music performed may “modernize” the general sound of the pieces through changes in rhythm, harmony, and sonority. Often these performers also
favour slower tempos, more use of minor keys and modal melodies (meaning they may alter a melody to introduce a new harmonic tension to the piece), and darker timbres than their Early Music counterparts. There may still be a scholarly approach to preparing the pieces and great attention paid to historical details, but there is a shift in aesthetic towards, and greater acceptance within, the general Gothic community. The target demographics for commercial releases and concert ticket sales are blatantly weighted towards the Gothic music fans, even though any and all would be welcome to support the groups and often do. The Philadelphia based band The Soil Bleeds Black is prime example. Their music is almost entirely period works (for instance, Mirror of the Middle Ages includes “a variety of traditional pieces interpreted by the band, ranging from the early medieval period all the way up to the Renaissance”) and their instrumentation (described on the band’s website as an “entourage of medieval instruments”) reflects an interest and investment in Early Music aesthetics and a reverence for historical association, but the band inevitably dresses in Gothic fashions, performs at Gothic music festivals and night clubs, and even the name of the band suggests a Gothic attitude.


![Image of The Soil Bleeds Black band](http://www.soilbleedsblack.com/soilbleedsblack/about.htm) (accessed 19 March, 2012.)
3.) Dark Ambient Neo-Medievalist Goth Music - Other forms of Neo-Medievalist Gothic music rely more on modern styles and often mix Early Music instruments with contemporary electric ones. I shall divide this large category into three smaller ones for ease of discussion. It could easily be separated into many more categories, but the focus of my thesis is the instruments and the makers of these instruments rather than the genre’s various styles, therefore, three delineations will suffice. The first of these takes elements of Early Music and merges them with electronic music to create historically evocative background music with a Gothic, brooding feel often termed Dark Ambient or Dark Ambient Neo-Medieval Goth. The emotive nature of the music is typically the main focus, using the Early Music instruments as a texture that sonically adds to the mood of the pieces through exotic and slightly unfamiliar timbres and tunings intended to evoke the past.75 Strong rhythms and higher volume passage are often absent from the music in this sub-style. Despite the inclusion of what may be considered rock instruments, these bands typically refrain from performing rock-influenced material.

Gothic visuals are more common here, although the occasional appearance of historical fashion and imagery may be blended into a presentation on some level. Arcana, a music project from Sweden which began in the early 1990s describes their music as being “based on a romantic image of the middle ages”76 which incorporates medieval harmonies and instruments into the majority of their heavily electronic-based music. In addition, this project also uses many modern Western classical instruments, such as contemporary timpani, violin, and cello to parallel and emulate

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75 For an extended discussion of this, see Yri’s essay on medievalism and exoticism in the music of Neo-Medievalist Goth band Dead Can Dance (2008), in which she outlines the ways in which history and darkness are evoked through melodic and timbre choices, including references to instrumentation.

76 http://www.erebusodora.net/arcana/biography.html (accessed 12 September, 2011.)
older music styles. This is another example of the conflation of historical eras that is overlooked within the scene. The band and the fans are perfectly aware of the modernity engendered in their instruments and the historical associations that are far past that of medieval times; what becomes evident and interesting here is the lack of concern for historical cohesiveness. As with many of the sub-styles, any historical association may be compacted into a general (and elusive) “darker times” or “vampire related” era that supplies the accepted aesthetics which assists in placing the music firmly in the Neo-Medievalist Gothic scene.

Figure 9: Swedish band Arcana, performers of Dark Ambient Neo-Medievalist Gothic music.

4.) **Neo-Medievalist Gothic Rock** – This is the broadest category, merging rock elements or techno-dance electronics with elements of Early Music. Typically, the music is driven by electric guitars, trap drums, keyboards, and bass guitar enhanced with an Early Music instrument, such as bagpipes or hurdy gurdy taking the lead guitar role, although in some cases the Early Music instruments comprise the majority of the instrumentation. The style can be rooted in hard rock, drum and bass, light folk, or most often, Gothic rock. The most important trait for Neo-
Medievalist Gothic rock is that it borrows from Early Music styles and instrumentation, but may not employ actual medieval repertoire. When it does, typically the melodies and rhythms are altered to match modern rock or techno styles. Bands that perform this style often present their concerts in large rock venues with elaborate stage lighting, fashion that merges modern rock aesthetics with popular media-supported concepts of medieval garb, and rely on loud amplification to heighten the intensity of the performance, even when the instrumentation is mostly or entirely Early Music style instruments. One band of this genre that performs both as a rock band with Early Music additions and in other settings with all Early Music instruments is the German band Schelmish. Releases from Schelmish range from epic rock operas that recount fantastic tales to high-energy performances of Early Music pieces and self composed works in a similar style. Live footage of Schelmish indicates that they embrace both a rock sense of fashion and a medieval based one, depending on their musical presentation for the night.

Figure 10: Schelmish, a German Neo-Medievalist Gothic Rock band.
5.) Neo-Medievalist Gothic Metal - The final category I propose is a subset of Neo-Medievalist Gothic Rock that comprises such a large percentage of the category, it demands isolated attention: Neo-Medievalist Gothic Metal. These bands are heavy metal rock bands that merge various metal styles with elements of Early Music. Many of the groups came from a Viking Rock or Folk Metal background and later merged with the Gothic styles. Others would fall into this category due to a change in popular media nomenclature as Neo-Medievalist Gothic music became more prominent. Although I mention approximately 50 Neo-Medievalist Gothic metal bands in this thesis (see Appendix I), the heavy metal online data base Encyclopaedia Metallum cites over 1000 folk/Medieval/Viking metal bands that have released material to date. As with the general Neo-Medievalist Gothic Rock category, the heavy metal subset also embraces a mixture of rock and medieval aesthetics, both sonically and visually. Another band based in Germany, In Extremo, is particularly popular currently and exhibits all the traits of this sub-style.

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77 Encyclopaedia Metallum, http://www.metal-archives.com (accessed 7 January, 2011.) I searched for “Medieval”, “Folk”, and “Viking” bands. 45 bands were tagged as being Medieval bands, 1046 were tagged as being influenced by traditional folk music, and 312 are listed as being Viking metal bands.

78 This is my personal observation, based on the large number of fans I met during my visits to Germany whilst researching this thesis. The band also performs regularly at high profile metal and Gothic music festivals as well as released their 21st CD (12th on a major German label) in February, 2011. http://www.spirit-of-metal.com/discographie-groupe-In_Extremo-type-Albums-l-en.html (accessed 12 September, 2011.)
The Removal and Reintegration of Geographic Locale in Neo-Medievalist Gothic Music

The Neo-Medievalist scene, whilst aesthetically in part focusing upon European- and Middle Eastern-related Middle Ages, is not by any means restricted to a phenomenon occurring only on the European continent. As with the general Gothic music scene (Jerrentrup 2000:29), a contingent of neo-Meievalist Gothic performers appear in almost every country. Aside from German (Helium Vola, In Extremo, Estampie, Love is Colder Than Death), Italian (Evol, Ataraxia), Russian (Drolls), Spanish (Tormenta, L’Ham de Foc), Norwegian (Lumsk), Swedish (Hednigarna, Arcana), Finnish (Tarujen Saari), and several Eastern European bands (Irfan, The Dartz), Neo-Medievalist projects have flourished in Mexico (Modus Virens), Brazil (Knights of Requiem), Japan (Selia), Australia (Dead Can

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79 Jerrentrup remarks that although the Gothic scene can be found throughout most of the world, the highest concentrations are in the United States, the United Kingdom, and Germany. I suggest that currently, since the time of Jerrentrup’s publication in 2000, the Gothic scene still exhibits similar regional and global representation, but the proportions have balanced out somewhat, with a greater contingency of the Gothic community residing in Japan, Australia, Brazil, Mexico, Canada, and the remainder of the European continent as well. Furthermore, I suggest the Neo-Medievalist Gothic community follows a similar distribution pattern being a subset of the general scene, as a smaller, congruent percentage.
Dance), Canada (Les Bâtards du Nord, Howling Syn), and the United States (The Soil Bleeds Black, Unto Ashes, Faun, Angels of Venice) among others.  

In an arena that spans both transnational settings and culturally specific local groups, it is no surprise to find certain projects which attempt to identify with both the global Neo-Medievalist Gothic scene and their regional culture simultaneously. Concentrating on local histories and musical traditions, new stylistic characteristics form and emerge, offering another trait that will influence makers, performers, and the instruments they build and play. The Bulgarian band Irfan, for example, draws from traditional Bulgarian vocal techniques and melodies and has introduced Bulgarian and Persian percussion to their renditions of medieval works. The specificity of regional association can take on a historical textual focus as in case of the German based group der Deustches Minnesanger, which is a project whom effectively limits their repertoire to match the name of the band, that being a repertoire of 12th to 14th Century minnesang. Alternatively, Estampie, another German band formed of members of Berlin’s QNTAL and Ophelia’s Dream, tends to restrict their material to the estampie dance form, as may be expected, showing that Neo-Medievalist bands may choose to focus upon a particular style of presentation, rather than a geographical one that evokes heritage associations.

As with the sub-style influence on the maker-instrument-player network, awareness of regional heritage and stylistic aesthetics of presentation affect instrument evolution through the sensibilities of the makers and players. In chapter three, I discuss some of the ways in which these regional affiliations inspire criteria for craftsmanship, authenticity, and authority for both maker and performer which is manifested as instrument construction decisions and execution.

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80 See Appendix I for a selected list of bands currently popular within the Neo-Medievalist Gothic scene.
81 For more information and audio excerpts, visit http://www.prikosnovenie.com/groupes/Irfank.html (accessed 3, February, 2011.)
Performance Settings

One way in which the spectrum of sub-styles enters into a dialogue with the makers and players through their instruments is via the performance settings each of these sub-styles undertakes. For the most part, Neo-Medievalist Gothic Rock bands present their live performances in a rock concert setting, playing at night clubs, larger festival stages, and recording their material in a tracked studio setting to isolate the instruments, mixing them in post-production. Gothic Early Music groups often perform acoustically at medieval fairs or smaller venues without large amounts of sound reinforcement, except at larger festivals. In addition, studio recordings tend to be “live”, even if they are tracked for post-production adjustment. These various performance settings may require the players to incorporate a multitude of performance techniques to adapt to their surroundings - techniques which musical instrument makers may need to consider.

Neo-Medievalist Gothic performers may play concerts to seated audience members, present “high-energy” sets at night clubs with great amounts of physical movement and high volume, or take up a side stage at a festival. Venues can be as large as the Royal Albert Hall, London (Medieval Babes, Dead Can Dance) and the Passionkirche Kreuzberg, Berlin (Corvus Corax) or they can be so small as to only allow a handful of audience members. Groups may be loudly amplified (In Extremo) or completely acoustic (Faun, Poeta Magica). Dancing could be encouraged (Estampie, Wogelmut) or a silent attentive audience may be the accepted policy for a show (Joglaresa). Typically, live performance settings for Neo-Medievalist Gothic music are mid-sized to slightly larger live music venues (housing 100-300 people) or festivals and fairs that cater to Gothic or Early Music fans.

The largest, longest running Gothic music festival is the Wave Gothik Treffen festival which has occurred each year in Leipzig, Germany since 1992. It typically lasts four to six days and books approximately 300 bands playing a wide range of styles to address as
much of the Gothic music spectrum as possible. Inevitably, this generally includes around
ten Neo-Medievalist Gothic performances. The festival promoters appear to be interested in
providing a high percentage of well-known artists then adding lesser known acts they deem
worthy of being promoted.\footnote{I have been invited to perform at the Wave Gothik Treffen (WGT) festival with cellist
Joanna Quail who is seen as an up and coming Neo-Classical Gothic artist (see chapter four). I have
also been invited to perform with San Francisco group Neither Neither World, whom have performed
three years in a row at WGT and have discussed with me their involvement with the festival’s
administration. In addition, my personal booking agent works with one of the promoters for the
festival and through these three contacts, I have been able to gather first and second hand
information regarding the booking process for Wave Gothik Treffen.}

Other Gothic music-oriented festivals book similarly. M’era Luna, another German
Gothic music festival, will have QNTAL and Tanzwut\footnote{Tanzwut is a spin-off project featuring members of Corvus Corax, whom are discussed
through the thesis.} on their main stages in August 2011.

Whitby Gothic Weekend, which is much smaller, but has been running for almost as long as
Wave Gothik Treffen, books fewer Neo-Medievalist Gothic acts than similar festivals, but
past bills there have included Dead Can Dance and The Soil Bleeds Black.

To date, there have been no international scale music festivals that focus
exclusively on Neo-Medievalist Gothic music. Perhaps the Neo-Medievalist Gothic scene is
not strong enough to support such a festival, but given the large number of bands active
throughout the World (see appendix I), a stronger argument would be that the members of
the community are simply too widely dispersed to effectively host an event of the
magnitude of Wave Gothik Treffen entirely devoted to such a narrow band in the Gothic
music spectrum. Neo-Medievalist Gothic performers, then, must turn towards other types of
festivals if they wish to play in such a setting more frequently than once or twice a year. This
is often only possible if the band is well known enough or has the right connections.

Some heavy metal festivals cater strongly to medieval and folk-influenced metal
music, at which Neo-Medievalist Gothic performers are appreciated and well-received. The
three day long Hoernerfest that takes place near Hamburg, Germany, for example, features
almost exclusively Neo-Medievalist Gothic metal bands. Whilst this by no means addresses the musical interests of the entire scene, it gives an idea of the strength of the subgroup’s participation within the scene and provides alternatives for performance possibilities outside a strictly Gothic social event.

Another alternative for Neo-Medievalist Gothic bands are medieval and renaissance fairs and Early Music Festivals, catering to various styles of historically-informed music covering a range of (perceived) historical accuracy. Neo-Medievalist Gothic bands work well in these settings, providing an alternative to what may be seen by some as straightforward presentations. As a result, although there may be some negativity, these bands often enjoy a positive reception. These types of performance settings notably afford a shift in focus for the performers from Gothic-oriented mentalities that embrace a specific historical element to enhance their sensibilities to a focus on the historical aspects of the music being brought into a new context, enhancing the ways in which fans and performers can enjoy historically-informed presentations. Because of this, Neo-Medievalist Gothic performers often gain followers outside of the Gothic social network. It should also be noted that some performers may argue against the “Gothic” label, even if their fans and the performance settings in which they regularly play suggest otherwise.

The recurring issue of electric versus acoustic instruments and how their sound will be carried to the performer’s audiences in each of these settings stands out boldly here, begging consideration for timbre, volume, frequency contribution, and general aesthetic concerns. A web of connections and interactions stems from this single topic. The sensibilities and presentational styles of the players combine with their playing techniques; sub-style dynamics; and technical aspects of recording and performing live and are now juxtaposed across from the maker’s sense of integrity to create a level of aesthetic acceptance that takes into account a combination of genre style and sub-styles; economic concerns; and design, production, and engineering challenges. Other performance concerns
and sub-style parameters can have an effect on decisions and subsequent construction realizations of the musical instruments involved and knowledge of performance techniques and styles, personal values and sensibilities, and financial aspects of making instruments can all present significant influence on the maker-instrument-player network, as I will show in the next few chapters.

**Cyber Medieval: Online Communities and Media**

As with any other modern social group, the Neo-Medievalist Gothic music scene has an online presence that serves as a platform for community activity, including: websites announcing events; forums discussing acceptable aesthetics; cyber storefronts selling neo-Medieval merchandise; and databases of streaming and downloadable media content. General information about the music’s trends has been posted to a multitude of wikis, and most major online radio feeds have a Neo-Medievalist Gothic related collection of artists, if not an entire channel devoted to the genre. Kilpatrick (2004) makes her opinion known on the value she feels the internet holds for uniting the general Gothic subculture members, devoting an entire chapter to the matter in *The Goth Bible*, following up on Mercer’s (2002) guide to Gothic websites, *21st Century Goth*, a 256 page listing of scene-related websites, consisting primarily of Gothic music projects. Hodkinson (2002:176) outlines the importance of the Goth scene’s web presence as strengthening subcultural boundaries and reifying identities (within the seemingly boundless lack of confines of the internet, in opposition to the notion that Goth-related websites may begin to blur social settings and groups together).

The same can be said of the online Neo-Medievalist Gothic community within the general Goth scene’s web presence. Online neo-Medieval clothes and record shopping and forums discussing specific aspects of the Neo-Medievalist Goth scene provide the means by which the subgroup of the Gothic subculture can flourish and further establish itself as both a strong faction within the general Goth scene and as its own thriving community.
Furthermore, the boundaries of the Neo-Medievalist scene are more clearly expanded beyond just the Goth scene, yet can still be deeply rooted within it. Not only do Gothic websites regularly publish sections dedicated to neo-Medievalism, Neo-Medievalist pages often have a dedicated Gothic section along with information, media, and discussions related to Early Music, heavy metal music, medieval fairs, and historical societies and related events. By searching for “Neo-Medievalist Goth” on the LastFM online radio station, for example, the results include metal, Early Music, Gothic rock (with little or no Medieval influences), and traditional folk music along with the bands specifically labelled as Neo-Medievalist Goth. Forum participants on the website Talk Classical recommend Furunkulus, Sangre Cavallum, and Blackmore’s Nights in a thread discussing Neo-Medievalist music and a blog devoted to the Medieval Festival in Tryon Park, New York boasts of the unique displays of fashion the Goths attending added to the fair. The Neo-Medievalist Gothic scene has many ties to a variety of groups and situations, all of which are substantiated and maintained in part through online communities and related web sites.

**Neo-Medievalist Gothic Commercialism**

Neo-Medievalist Gothic bands are not revivalist projects; however, the two do share certain similarities. Revivalists align themselves with a particular historical lineage (Livingston 1999:66). This is certainly true of the Neo-Medievalist Goth scene, regardless of the fact that, as stated above, the specifics of the historical period can be somewhat distorted. Livingston claims that revivalism is a form of cultural opposition that aims to improve culture through the values based on historical value and authenticity as perceived by the community members (1999:68). The neo-Medievalist Gothic scene can be taken in

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84 This is not a spyder crawling search engine, but a tag cloud search that uses listener labelled tags as criteria, therefore, the significance is in the fact that these labels exist more than the terms are found in search results.
part as an opposition to the larger techno- and rock-based Gothic scene – a subculture within a subculture. The general Gothic subculture takes a stance of looking to improve culture through the values they uphold, so it stands to reason that the Neo-Medievalist Gothic scene being a subset of the larger Gothic scene would also adhere to this outlook.

Livingston states that one trait within the “life” of a revival is the emergence of a revivalist industry, providing goods that support and propagate the movement (1999:79). Neo-Medievalist Gothic music is certainly no different. Medieval-style clothing, CDs of neo-Medievalist Gothic music, organized events and festivals catering to the scene, and of course, the creation and marketing of musical instruments are several of the commercial ventures to be undertaken in response to the growing Neo-Medievalist Gothic scene.

The existence of a specific Neo-Medievalist Gothic industry suggests that there is also a specific demographic for the market that created it. The traits of the demographic are also general traits of the scene’s members, including age groups, economic income brackets, geographic regions, and gender. The community members’ age range lies generally between late teens and early sixties, with the majority being between their mid-twenties and late thirties. In my estimates based on events which I have attended, the scene is approximately 65% male and 35% female, with the musician population being more heavily weighted towards men at approximately 85% male and 15% female. Many members of the Neo-Medievalist Goth community are students and/or middle class citizens who spend a good deal of money on their interests, but work hard to earn spare money to support this interest. Professional musicians may tend to focus more on their music and may spend greater amounts of money on instruments, clothing, events, and travel than the average scene member. The majority of the scene members live and interact on the European continent, but there is a contingency of members in North America, Central America, South

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87 That is not to say that musical instrument built without the intention of selling them to Neo-Medievalist Gothic performers are not still attractive to member of the scene. The contrary is discussed below, where I show that some makers with no knowledge of the Neo-Medievalist Gothic scene sell their instruments unbeknownst to member of the subculture community.
America, Asia, and the Pacific Rim, connected not only by live festival events and concerts, but also online internet presences such as forums, online radio stations, and commercial shopping sites.

**The Role of Neo-Medievalist Gothic Scene in the Maker-Instrument-Player Network**

The arena in which the maker-instrument-player network operates upon which I focus in this thesis extends over several discourses, only some of which are governed by the social dynamics of the Neo-Medievalist Gothic music scene. To be sure, though, these are paramount in their influence and dialectic response in regards to the system. The scene provides a plethora of actants, and is itself an actant in a larger sense, in which the network I unravel here is immersed. This is not to say that there are not other forces at work. A network can open channels to several arenas simultaneously and become a conduit itself, as we already know from Actor-Network Theory.

What relates to my research, then, is how the various aspects of the Neo-Medievalist Gothic community and the related music scene extend connections to and from the maker-instrument-player network. The evolution and origin of the scene, from its punk roots to its ever changing spectrum of styles, has generated an on-going development of aesthetics and sensibilities that inform certain actants in the network on how to intermingle with and react to other actants. Out of an - historical/traditional – modern/contemporary dichotomy, questions of authenticity, functionality, and acceptability are posed and answered. Popularity issues are addressed in various terms and communities juxtapose local and regional groupings with global and historical ones to foster and reify notions of belonging to one or more community and to house means of expressing cultural values upheld or rejected by these communities. Varying performances settings, in particular, ones that contain aspects of affiliations with local or regional groups or sociologically and historically informed traits, dictate that makers rethink the ways in which their instruments are being used and what they are communicating. Visual aesthetics are redefined and
altered in light of presentations that are at once both rebellious and constrained by scene acceptability. New economies are introduced and embraced by makers to meet the needs of all actants in the network. With the Neo-Medievalist Gothic scene well-rooted as an entity with which the maker-instrument-player network interacts, with its various facets and evolving sensibilities, the scene establishes itself as a salient component of my research.
Chapter Three
Making the Scene:
Insider Participation and the Percussion of David Roman Drums

Instrument builders are able to thrive in part by establishing a level of authority, purposefully or unknowingly, with their recurring and potential patrons. Authority can be established in a variety of ways, and it can be established by the authority figure or by others who perceive and uphold that figure as being authoritative (see chapters four and five). This is typically in regard to a mutually valued subject or activity, in this case, the making of instruments that meet the needs and aesthetic acceptability of performers within the Neo-Medievalist Gothic community. Exhibiting knowledge of the specifics in regards to a performer's needs and sensibilities is paramount to formulating a level of authority necessary to conduct a financially and socially successful instrument building and sales undertaking within a particular musical community. Exhibiting this knowledge is a key concept here. Having an understanding of the aesthetics and performance settings of a musical scene, but not manifesting that knowledge succinctly to the members of that community is far less effective on some levels than actively (or as seen in chapter 5, mostly passively) displaying a sympathy for the nuances experienced by the group in question.

Gaining an understanding of a scene and, in turn, exhibiting knowledge of that understanding (which will assist in establishing authority) can come about through direct participation within the scene. Who better knows the needs and sensibilities of the performers than the performers themselves (at least it can be said that a performer may perceive their needs in this manner)? Whilst most instrument builders are performers on some level and therefore have a working comprehension of the performance techniques

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88 Judging from my experience when meeting instrument builders at festivals, conventions, and in their workshops, I have found without exception that all of these makers have also performed on their instrument to some extent. This is not to say that there are not makers whom do not play instruments, as is briefly discussed in chapter 5, and I would also point out this is a statement
involved, and often a very extensive comprehension, some builders are not active performers within the communities that patronize them. A maker who participates in a performance context within a music scene will engage the maker-instrument-player network in additional ways in contrast to a builder who primarily supplies instruments as their main contribution. A duality of position occurs in which the sensibilities of the artist become internalized and potentially equally as valued as the maker’s. This is not the same as a maker that plays the instrument they build, even though it is a subset of what emerges from the maker placing themselves in a dual role within the community (again, see chapters four and five). In the former case, the maker can, of course, address specific performance technique issues and pay heed to the aesthetics and values upheld within a musical community, but the latter case enhances these capabilities through the additional inherent economic and social investments. Holding a maker-player position within a network does not necessarily afford that actant guaranteed higher status or introduce new channels of interactions. These things may happen, but what can be seen are different ways in which the maker establishes authority and embraces the multiple roles s/he has taken on.

An example of makers who participate in their musical community as both builder and performer are the percussion makers at David Roman Drums (DRD). Through their participation in the Neo-Medievalist Gothic music scene and their willingness to interact directly with the musicians purchasing their drums, DRD has engaged in a dialogue with the scene, primarily through the construction and marketing of their instruments, and thus they have established a position of authority that affords the company continuing success and respect from the performers.

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generally applied to makers of bespoke instruments, not addressing mass produced instruments and their builders with this suggestion, regardless of what may be the situation in their case.
David Roman Drums

David Roman Drums is the name of a percussion building company based in Berlin owned by makers David Faulwasser and Roman Dill. They specialize in Middle Eastern traditional and medieval style drums. This consists mostly of frame drums, but also double headed barrel drums, goblet drums, accenting percussion (such as riqs and other small handheld percussion), and a line of drums designed for shamanic practice. Many of their drums feature a unique pneumatic tuning system devised by the founders of the company. Unlike many modern drums, the tuning device is primarily hidden from sight (details below). One reason for this is that DRD attempts to maintain an appearance of historical and cultural accuracy with several of their drum models. DRD introduces a number of other innovations into their drum building, as well; these include altering the ways in which frames are made, the ways the leading edges are cut, additional timbre changing devices, and how the skins are prepared in comparison to more traditional methods used historically or in areas closer to the drum’s origins today. Like with the tuning device, all of these features are incorporated into the drums with historical and cultural aesthetics taken into consideration.

DRD cultivated the ways in which these innovations are infused into their drums through interactions with their customers, simultaneously upholding their own sensibilities of craftsmanship, authenticity, and artistic license. Local and global markets and economies also dictate, in part, how they embrace their workspace, workforce, patrons, and production capabilities, which also greatly influence the maker-instrument-player network. The role DRD plays in the evolution of performance techniques, instrument availability and affordability, and accepted genre conventions is defined by these interactions and sensibilities.

\[89\] Small frame drums with metal jingles fitted into the sides, similar to a tambourine. DRD typically makes a riq between 17.5 – 23.5 cm in diameter.

\[90\] The details of these construction features will be discussed more fully later in this chapter.

\[91\] Discussions of economy, marketing, and production will be addressed in more detail in chapter 6.
Performance Techniques and Commissions

Musicians who purchase and play instruments built by David Roman Drums range from Early Music performers to Iranian classical percussionists to Gothic rock bands. Many of the performance styles incorporated by these players are derived from traditional techniques and/or merged with contemporary takes on the genres of music they typically perform. As players explore new methods or techniques, or encounter pragmatic performance issues, the demand for a new construction approach is sometimes created. During my first visit to the DRD workshop in March 2009, professional Iranian percussionist Mohammad Reza Mortazavi came to Berlin to commission new drums to suit his style of playing. He primarily plays frame drums and the tonbak. Mortazavi has released several solo albums of new compositions, performs improvised percussion presentations, and regularly accompanies traditional performances of pieces from the Middle East and North Africa. On this occasion, Mortazavi described a new technique he was perfecting in which he uses the back of his bent, right thumb to alter the harmonics sounded by the skin whilst playing with his left finger tips on the drum skin near the edge of the frame. He felt his current arsenal of instruments did not allow him to achieve this to his satisfaction, but that DRD drums had the potential to accent this technique. He did not have an exact plan or request concerning how to alter a drum to suit his needs. Instead, he expected DRD to innovate on the spot and devise a method by which the construction of the drum and/or perhaps a special skin adjustment would yield stronger harmonic overtones using this technique.

92 Since that visit, Mohammed Reza Mortazavi has relocated to live in Berlin.
93 Mortazavi is not a Neo-Medievalist Gothic performer, however, the clear example of how DRD interacts with a performer which results in instrument construction decisions and methods employed cannot be ignored. This example was indicative of other interactions I witnessed during my three visits to the DRD workshop, some of which were with Gothic performers, but I include this one for its concise flow of information transmission and realisation of ideas manifested as physical finished products by the maker.
94 Examples of his playing styles, including the technique described below, can be heard on his website at http://www.myspace.com/mrmortazavi in particular, the track Seriously Joking contains the harmonic altering technique mentioned here between minutes 2 and 4 of the piece.
David Faulwasser and Roman Dill, the head builders as well as the owners of the company, asked Mortazavi to demonstrate the technique for a few minutes on a drum they had in stock whilst they discussed options and engineering possibilities aloud. Faulwasser suggested certain methods of treating the skin before stretching it and Dill added his thoughts on skin choices, finishing the skin, and other treatments. Mohammad tested to the difference between two already completed drums DRD had in stock, the skins of which had been prepared differently. He listened intently to Dill and Faulwasser’s conversation, stopping only to agree with or challenge their ideas. At this point, suggestions concerning the contour of the leading edge were introduced into the discussion. Eventually, Mortazavi said one of the plans would work and requested they build him a drum using the idea upon which they settled. They initiated the construction the next and three weeks later, DRD had built a new drum, using a new skin treatment method, and newly designed contours for the frame’s outside and leading edge. The connections and flow of influence taking place in the maker-instrument-player network took the form of a very tangible end product in this instance. The maker’s interactions with and suggestions from Mohammad Reza Mortazavi resulted in a new drum model that merged his performance techniques and needs and DRD’s construction standards and innovations.

Figure 12: Mohammed Reza Mortazavi and one of his frame drums built by David Roman Drums.
This situation highlights a very specific facet of the complicated role of an instrument maker, that of being an engineer. Mortazavi demanded not only that the builders draw upon their knowledge of construction to meet his performance technique evolution, but he expected instantaneous innovation as well. Typically, as far as I witnessed during my few stays in Berlin, improvised engineering under a severe commissioner-imposed time constraint was rare. Many other interactions with performers occurred that were decidedly more relaxed and allowed the craftsmen to mull over their innovation suggestions in a leisurely fashion. Still, the process of DRD utilizing their engineering capabilities was repeated regularly within almost all commission interactions I witnessed.

In the case above, DRD took the player’s technique as the factor around which the development of the construction took place. The technique was not questioned, but rather the construction methods were. As a result, the drum was tailored to a technique, even if it was one professed to be in a state of flux and needing to be honed further; this technique was thus used a pivot around which the decisions were made. Mortazavi motivated the construction process and held a position of authority as regards the technique, but it was DRD who held the authority for the engineering approaches and was ultimately responsible for the drum’s realization. In addition, DRD exhibited an understanding of the performance technique in question and a rapport with their client that suggests they have established a reputation for working respectfully and competently with a performer’s interests. It is their displayed levels of respect and competency that afford DRD opportunities to undertake commissions of this type.

Another customer, Yoavel Kayam, presented DRD with a similar, yet partially opposite performance technique-oriented commission (with additional considerations). Kayam travelled from Tel Aviv to Berlin to purchase a collection of new instruments for his teacher and himself. According to Dill, flying to Berlin on a discount airline was cheaper for Kayam and his teacher than shipping five drums to Israel and then Kayam would also have
the advantage of playing some of the drums before he purchased them.\textsuperscript{95} Kayam had an idea of the styles of drums he wanted and he had instructions from his teacher on what to select for him. Apparently, Kayam was asked to choose from some of the shelf stock as well as place a commission for any drums that did not meet their criteria. Kayam is a repeat customer; prior to this visit, he owned a smaller, deep frame, 12” diameter drum that he had purchased in Germany years before at a trade show at which DRD had operated a display booth. He knew how some of the models felt and sounded and, although he proclaimed to be a novice percussionist when he first met Dill at the trade show\textsuperscript{96}, he has since become an intermediate-level player.\textsuperscript{97}

The commission process started with Kayam playing on the three drum sizes and models he expected to want to buy. Faulwasser and Dill watched his playing and then asked a few questions about his technique. In particular, they watched the way he held the drum and wanted to know what type of sound he wanted. A vague question at best, but a common one to ask and for which an articulate answer was expected. Kayam described a sound mentioning metallic ringing and a drier timbre. As he played, he held the drum upright with his left hand and used the tips of his fingers on his right hand to rub along the middle of the skin.

Faulwasser immediately launched into a suggestion for using a slightly less cleaned skin\textsuperscript{98} on the playing surface that would give him a rougher texture upon which to rub, increasing the volume and “richness” of his scraping sound.\textsuperscript{99} Dill began to discuss the possibilities for skin choices based on that suggestion and then moved on to talk about the

\textsuperscript{95} Kayam confirmed this himself, but the initial explanation came from a conversation with Dill. Conversation with Dill 16 March, 2009; Conversation with Kayam. 17 March, 2009.
\textsuperscript{96} Ibid. 17 March, 2009.
\textsuperscript{97} As assessed by Dill. Conversation with Dill. 15 March, 2009.
\textsuperscript{98} Meaning leaving some of the hair on the skin during preparation instead of scraping it smooth and hairless as on many of their finished drums.
\textsuperscript{99} Richness was Faulwasser’s exact word. For this transaction they spoke English, partly because they knew I was listening and partly because Kayam’s German was potentially not sufficient enough to give and receive detailed responses.
choices of grip available to Kayam, and subsequent performance techniques associated with his suggested grip choice.

They handed Kayam different drums to try with a similar hand grip to the one they were suggesting to allow him to gain a better understanding of the grip they verbally described. Next they requested he play another set of drums, these built with the types of skin they had discussed. He played through the drums and quickly made some decisions, some, but not all of which, took Faulwasser’s and Dill’s ideas into account. Kayam requested specifics for the skins, sizes, and grips and Roman said the drums would be ready in a few days. After a few more tests over the next few days (during the drums’ construction), Kayam purchased the drums for himself and his teacher and returned to Tel Aviv.

The end result of this interaction was just as tangible as with the Mortazavi commission, but the exchange of influence and wielding of established authority took different directions and levels of importance. As before, each of the new drums were unique, bespoke instruments and results of DRD suggestions and demands of the customer. One of the ways in which Kayam’s commission differed was slight disagreements between the maker and player regarding sonic and visual aesthetics. Faulwasser’s and Dill’s suggestions were neither entirely cosmetic nor entirely functional. The discussion of the skin choice involved issues of both performance and appearance. The metallic ringing Kayam mentioned was begrudgingly but easily incorporated by Dill and Faulwasser, given their knowledge of skin preparation, but they protested, saying it was not exactly traditional and that the drums may sound more modern or factory built. Kayam, however, prevailed and the drums were made according to his specifications. DRD’s concern for appearance was addressed despite the slight disagreement of sonic tastes; the skins chosen maintained a rougher look, offering support to a concept of ancient association that David Roman Drums holds as valuable in addition to supporting a performance technique the makers noted whilst Kayam was testing premade drums. The frames, too, although smooth, were also
primarily darker and slightly uneven in colour to facilitate a rougher look. Dill mentioned that this was to maintain a visual feature that mimicked certain Middle Eastern drums that Dill personally found valuable in appearance. He suggested that it evoked a more traditional style with which he hoped DRD would be associated. Kayam also seemed pleased the drums maintained a more traditional appearance.

Kayam not only took away percussion instruments that struck a balance between the customer’s desires and the maker’s integrity, but suggestions for playing techniques to incorporate offered by DRD. The potential for him to use these techniques was fortified through the specific construction elements agreed upon by Kayam, Dill, and Faulwasser. In this case, although Kayam had definite input into the construction of the drum, his performance on the drum in future circumstances may be heavily influenced by DRD’s ideas in a more unidirectional manner. This is quite the opposite case from the Mortazavi commission. The performance technique introduced to the makers may well take a unidirectional flow of influence to alter the ways in which Faulwasser prepares and stretches drum skins. Both commissions (and others like them) are distinct flow channels in the maker-instrument-player network and contribute to it individually and as a system within a system. As discussed, one commission favours the influence the player has on the maker and the other that of the maker on the player (although, both were present in each commission). In a broader view, the instrument (seen here as the collective of instruments built over time) acts almost like a rotating valve, sending influence back and forth between maker and player distributing performance technique suggestions and visual aesthetics that support historical and cultural associations as it engages the network.

Returning to the Kayam commission, the flow of creation was again initiated by a performer and potential customer, but from a position of lower authority in terms of honed playing techniques (compared to Mortazavi). Kayam’s ideas and performance styles were

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100 Conversation with Dill. 21 March, 2009.
taken into consideration by the makers and they drew upon their knowledge of craftsmanship to suggest approaches to meeting the requests of the player, as with Mortazavi, but there was a significant addition: the makers also suggested that the performer use new techniques to fully realize the potential of the drum, thereby showing a variant on the maker-player rapport found with the Mortazavi commission. In both situations, the customer refined the suggestions given them, and the maker was left with a specific challenge within which they targeted a level of acceptability for all parties’ sensibilities. Of course, bespoke craftsmanship will take individual customer’s sensibilities into consideration, but does the process differ greatly if sensibilities vary widely between commissioning performers?

Kayam, like Mortazavi, also approached DRD with performance technique-oriented considerations that would afford him a greater ease of playing in certain ways on his new instruments, but instead of holding the position of authority for any discussed performance techniques, he conceded to yield authority to DRD. Faulwasser and Dill, again, presented possibilities for construction specifics that reached into their personal experience as builders and players to gather innovative ways of approaching the making of the drums, but with less admiration for the patron’s playing ability. Kayam’s suggestions and demonstration of techniques were met with counter suggestions not an embracing of ideas that reflected a sense of equality. An additional noticeable difference between these similar commissions lies in how Mortazavi (and in turn Faulwasser and Dill) was unconcerned about the traditional nature of the construction choices discussed or utilized, not because Mortazavi cared if the drum was aesthetically traditional or not, but rather because he appeared to expect it to be of the utmost traditional nature, and therefore it was not discussed with the makers.\textsuperscript{101} Perhaps the lack of any mention of traditional construction elements during

\textsuperscript{101} Mortazavi, however, did comment to another employee, Henning Abmann, just prior to the commission construction discussion with Faulwasser and Dill that he felt DRD drums were “incredible traditional drums.”
Mortazavi’s commission reflects an unspoken assumption that DRD would meet standards of traditional integrity (discussed further below). Kayam, however, presented ideas that apparently challenged this integrity and thus were met with counter suggestions to coax the end product back within the tolerance levels of tradition acceptable to DRD (even though, this did not actually occur). This suggests that DRD sometimes assumes an authoritative stance when faced with perceived differences in authority among their commissioners.

Exhibiting Understanding of Performance Considerations through Innovations

Commissions, such as the ones mentioned above, and the playing experience of workers at DRD (discussed below) have inspired certain accepted construction methods and instrument features to be revised. DRD boasts a sizeable number of innovations in drum design. Their most notable examples including: a redesigned leading edge, contoured frames and thumb holes, density changing weights for the frames, methods of treating the skins, and their patented pneumatic tuning system. Faulwasser suggests that most of the innovations boost quality and sales by eliminating certain common performance problems.\(^{102}\) The discovery of perceived performance problems and notions of quality are investigated through communications within the maker-instrument-player network. Actants draw from information found through connection to the other actants and support or develop concepts of quality or need for improvement which they enter/re-enter into the continuing dialogue hosted by the network. Examining the innovations Faulwasser (and others) consider as improvements will give examples of the maker-instrument-player network interactions in operation and reveal more about how the communicated influences are manifested.

The leading edge of basic frame drums is typically either flat or at a slight tapered angle along the inside of the frame, where the outside of the frame remains perpendicular to the surface of the skin. DRD’s drums, taking an approach that combines a common trap

\(^{102}\) Conversation with Faulwasser, 20 March, 2009.
drum shell leading edge and a the leading edge of various Asian drums, such as a Chinese *Jingju da tangu*, have a leading edge that is tapered away from the point of contact with the drum skin, on both the inside and outside. The inside edge is angled more sharply, at approximately a 15 degree slant, for about a length of 1cm, while the outside edge takes on a more graduated angle of approximately 7 degrees over about 0.5cm. In addition, there is a very small, rounded off surface between the two leading edges of about 2mm. Dill claims that this small surface allows for the skin to resonate off of the frame more clearly without deadening its reverberating overtones. Faulwasser added that the lower frequencies produced by the skin were also not overly dampened, so that the skin did not have a ringing metallic sound like a plastic head, but a fuller range of frequencies and a longer sustain, giving a richer sound than a frame without the typical DRD leading edge.

Frame drums are typically played using the palm and fingers of the hand, when the player is not using a beater or stick. Dill pointed out that, in light of this commonly used technique, the trimmed away leading edge would also contribute to the comfort of the performer when playing. This design feature provided a surface conducive to accommodating longer playing sessions and reducing the loss of timbral quality sometimes caused by performance fatigue. This was the reasoning behind the frame contouring as well. A typical flat surface frame may become irritating during a performance. DRD build their drums with a scooped frame in an attempt to ergonomically support the player’s wrist, making for ease of playing that facilitates lengthy presentations. Some frame drums incorporate a thumb hole for holding the drum upright and performing with the fingers of the gripping hand on the skin (in conjunction with the “free” hand that can move to the centre of the drum as needed). Usually, older drums simply have a round hole cut in the side of the drum, but DRD chooses to shape the thumb hole to fit the expanding girth of the

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103 Conversation with Dill. 20 March, 2009.
104 Taken from discussions between Faulwasser and Kayam during the commissioning of the drums mentioned above. 17 March, 2009.
bottom of a thumb (and as described below, places the thumb hole within reach of the tuning device). None of the contouring particularly improves or alters the sound quality of the drums, but it does address a performer’s basic playing technique and needs.

The leading edge tapering also combines with the innovations employed in preparing the skins, according to Faulwasser,\textsuperscript{105} to ensure the full range of frequencies, reduce metallic ringing, and increase suppleness for a longer lasting head. Faulwasser guarded the secret of the skin treatment method closely, concerned because DRD were, at the time, involved in several patent battles over it. However, he did disclose that the preparation of the skins included the use of enzymes and amino acids that served to spread out the fibres of the skin, thus increasing their pliability and giving the skin the desired suppleness and timbral qualities when stretched over the frame. Faulwasser claims this to be the most important and complicated of the company’s innovations, and professes that this alone is responsible for the quality of timbre that supports DRD’s sonic reputation.\textsuperscript{106}

When I first encountered the drums of DRD, however, at the Musik Messe musical instrument trade show in Frankfurt, 2002, they were promoting two other innovations, both of which also assist in establishing their sonic standards. For some of their drum models, DRD offers the option of adding dense weights to the frames of the drums which will change the sustain capabilities tremendously. They use ball bearings from the axles of tractor trailers, which consist of steel spheres of approximately 6cm in diameter made of solid steel to which threaded posts are attached. Then, receptors with matching threads are installed into the frames as equidistant positions around the inside of the drum. The weights then can be screwed into the frames, increasing the density of the wood by as much as five times, without disrupting the balance of the drum\textsuperscript{107} (although the increased weight often demands that the player uses a lap holding playing during position performances rather than

\textsuperscript{105} Conversation with Faulwasser. 20 March, 2009.
\textsuperscript{106} Ibid. 20 March, 2009.
\textsuperscript{107} As described by Henning Aßmann at the trade show booth, July 2002
the technique of holding the weight of the drum in a single hand, which DRD argues is more versatile.\textsuperscript{108} In addition to the increased resonance afforded by the more tightly compacted molecules supplied by the metal ball bearings, the change in density can lengthen the decay of the vibrating skin by decreasing the energy transfer from the moving skin to its surroundings (air, frame, hand, et cetera), thus reducing its dampening. For players seeking to extend the sustain of their drum strikes, this is can be a very attractive feature.

The most unusual of DRD’s innovations is their pneumatic tuning system. Faulwasser, prior to his work with percussion building, was a bicycle engineer.\textsuperscript{109} His familiarity with bike inner tubes led him to discover how to incorporate them into frame drums to provide a means by which players can alter and maintain the pitch of the drum.\textsuperscript{110} A channel is cut in the side of the frame drum, just below where the skin is to be attached that will accommodate half the width of an inner tube. A bicycle inner tube is folded in half, lengthwise, and wrapped around the frame along the channel with the fold of the tube facing downwards, meaning away from the leading edge of the frame. A small hole is cut through the frame drum, allowing the pump valve of the inner tube to protrude through to the inside (near the thumb hole). Then it is held in place while the skin is affixed over the frame as normal. When the inner tube is inflated, the upper portion of the tube expands, pulling the skin down over the sides of the frame, increasing the tension and thus raising the pitch of the drum. Deflating the tube lowers the pitch. Changing the pitch of the drum can be easily achieved and in a matter of seconds, either by releasing air from the tube to lower the pitch or by using a bicycle pump to increase the pressure and raise the pitch.

Faulwasser, Dill, and many of their employees and patrons see these innovations as improvements. While the greater sustain, fuller range of frequencies provided by a skin prepared using DRD’s “secret” method, and the increased comfort of performing on a
contoured drum can be perceived as improvements, in actuality they are neutral, simply being different from other drums. Why, then, are these changes important and considered by some to be improvements on the instruments’ design? Observing the maker-instrument-player network it becomes clear that, in part, this is because DRD concerns themselves with specific performance approaches and sonic attributes known in the community to be aspects which many players would prefer to be different. During the growth of their business as drum makers, Dill and Faulwasser have listened to and logged discussions and complaints from performers so that they can address these concerns directly with the construction of their wares. These interactions with patrons and commissioners presents DRD with opportunities not only to supply instruments and assist in shaping the ways in which the musical genres played upon their drums evolve, but also as a gathering of data which they can review and use to inform their construction decisions.

These innovations may or may not be specific to the Neo-Medievalist community; however, they will be attractive to performers of the genre and a portion of the communication DRD had with performers to ascertain the issues they address with their innovations came from musicians involved in the Neo-Medievalist Gothic music scene. As discussed in chapter two, Gothic music presentation settings can consist of concert halls and festival performances that may require extended playing time. A more comfortable frame contour directly addresses this possibility. These settings may also present situations were tuning can be of concern due to temperature and humidity changes or constant relocation of instruments. DRD’s pneumatic tuning systems can drastically reduce pitch related problems, enabling a successful performance in a wide range of environments. Sonically, many of these bands come from a rock or electronic music background, thus a fuller range of frequencies provided by DRD’s skin treatment can possibly match the general sensibilities

111 As described by Aßmannn. 12 March, 2009
of performers used to hearing modern percussion, specifically mylar headed and plastic fibre skinned drums or electronic percussion sounds designed to simulate trap drums or which make use of frequencies that generally go beyond standard frame drum timbres. Sustain can also feed into this mentality, thus incorporation of the density altering weights may also be enticing. Collectively, the innovations introduced into the drums they build addresses and/or offers alternatives to performance considerations within the Neo-Medievalist Gothic music scene, thus making these drums desirable and increasing the authority invested in DRD as builders and scene participants.

Performing Their Instruments within the Scene

In order to intelligently engage in this dialogue about the problems and solutions of performing Neo-Medievalist music on bespoke drums, the makers at DRD must have a degree of experience performing themselves as well as a sense of the scene’s aesthetics. This may not necessarily mean that the builders are all Neo-Medievalist Gothic performers, but I found that the all the workers at DRD are, in fact, performing percussionists. While many of them perform traditional Middle Eastern music, heavy metal, math rock, jazz, or enhance techno dance music with percussion, Dill and Faulwasser (as well as at least one other of their employees) both have a background in performing Neo-Medievalist Gothic music. During the first few years after DRD was established, Dill and

112 This is not to be confused with the metallic ringing timbre discussed by Kayam. The timbre he sought was a truncated range of frequencies that favoured higher overtones and only partial lower overtones. Here I refer to a fuller range of frequencies.
113 Roman Dill and Frank, skin stretching specialist both perform Persian classical music.
114 David Fetcher (known as “Little David” or “David number 2”), a wood working specialist, plays with a Neo-Medievalist Gothic Metal band and a black metal band when he is not working on his electric hurdy gurdy project during off hours at the DRD workshop.
115 Henning Aßmann, woodworking specialist and Frank (see footnote 25) both perform in math rock and jazz projects regularly.
116 Patrik, a finishing specialist, performs using DRD frame drums and shaman drums in an electro-acoustic trance/goa techno dance project.
117 Also, Julia Surba, pyrographer for DRD (discussed below), mentioned to me in conversation she attends many Neo-Medieval events in Berlin on a regular basis. Conversation with Surba. 21 March 2009.
Faulwasser frequented local Neo-Medievalist events, performing with musicians from the Berlin Neo-Medievalist scene.

Once such event is the *Mittlealtern Nacht* (Medieval Night) that takes place on Wednesdays at the *Archnoa* club in Kreuzberg, at which Neo-Medievalist music and culture fans gather for socializing. Whilst in Berlin in March, 2009 I attended several of these nights. The scene undoubtedly has evolved since 2000-2004, when DRD’s head builders were performing there, but according to Dill, many of the same fans and players still regularly attended the event and relatively speaking, it remains largely unchanged.\textsuperscript{118} The night primarily involves local fans gathering for drinks, many dressed in medieval-style clothing, with participating musicians creating impromptu bands to play commonly-known medieval melodies on whatever instruments are available. Typically, the groups consist of a lute player, one or two bagpipe players, occasionally a shawm player, and a percussionist or two. The venue is long, narrow, and quite crowded on these nights. In order to get a good look at the performers, it is necessary to crowd around the table at which they are playing. Volume is not a problem, though, as the close proximity of the performers and the acoustic volume of the instruments is ample to compete with crowd noise. In addition, bands often take turns in order to avoid a clashing cacophony or they separate themselves as much as possible by playing at opposite ends of the club.

\textsuperscript{118} Conversation with Dill 15 March, 2009.
Dill and Faulwasser would participate in these unrehearsed performances. According to Dill, they would sometimes be the only percussionists to attend for weeks at a time. The advantages they gained by immersing themselves thus in the local scene were numerous. They gained recognition as unique performers quite rapidly, perhaps by default because they were playing an instrument which was comparatively rare within the scene (meaning medieval-style frame drums and tabors, not percussion in general – see below), but also simply by generally being active within the scene. In addition, by being the makers of the instruments on which they performed, they were able to establish themselves as invested members of the Neo-Medievalist community who took the values and interests of the group seriously. Performing on drums they built generated a sense that they shared

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119 This image was used with permission by the bartender. For more images and information about the club, including current Mittelalter Nacht events (still being held as of September, 2011), visit [http://www.arcanoa.de/](http://www.arcanoa.de/) (accessed 13 September, 2011.)

120 Conversation with Dill. 15 March, 2009.

and understood the passion for playing Neo-Medievalist music. It also increased their creditability as regards discussing and understanding the problems of performing in this genre, especially those problems regarding the specific performance settings in which they found themselves. Through the regularity of their attendance, Faulwaser and Dill were able to nurture a rapport that supported a budding and growing pool of customers based on familiarity with their playing, their wares, and their identities as makers. Intentionally or not, DRD positioned themselves both as insiders engaged in the local scene and as outsiders who provided a sense of epistemological authority about the genre, thereby creating, maintaining, and strengthening their creditability as makers and players.

This immersion into the scene could have developed in other ways. On occasion an outsider can gain more authority than an insider. An actant in a “fringe” position may be seen as having a clearer perspective than an actant who may have recognizable internal agendas or greater personal familiarity with other network actants. This case is addressed in more detail in chapter five. In this situation, DRD strengthened their importance within the scene via their participation.

Part of the uniqueness portrayed by Faulwasser and Dill was through the drums they built and played. According to Henning Aβmannn, employee of DRD for the past ten years and Mittlealtern Nacht attendee, some players would arrive carrying modern looking darabukas with threaded tuning lugs and brightly coloured, plastic-covered aluminium shells with mylar heads, whilst other drummers would bring wooden shell drums covered with natural skins, but in his opinion none of them would be of the same sonic quality or visually aesthetic attractiveness to the community members as the DRD drums. The situation was similar when I attended several Neo-Medievalist Gothic nights at Archanoa eight years later. Of the five drummers at the venue during my first visit to the club, two players brought low to mid-grade metal darabukas, one player brought a flat shell bodhrán, and the other two

were using DRD frame drums. Both of the latter drummers were in much greater demand and exhibited a superior playing ability than the other percussionists. Two of these drummers left early and the remaining one stopped playing within an hour of arriving to watch and learn from the players performing on the DRD drums. A similar scenario was the case on all the other nights I witnessed percussionists playing at Archanoa’s Neo-Medievalist events.\footnote{Since that time, I have attended around a dozen other events in Berlin, many at Archanoa, each with similar situations, but often with different performers. Only a handful of percussionists were regular participants, in my experience.}

DRD cultivated a level of popularity for their drums simply by making them attractive to their audience and using them regularly within events sponsored by and attended by the Neo-Medievalist Gothic community members. As Faulwasser and Dill learned what the community members felt were aesthetically pleasing attributes for musical instruments, they could incorporate these attributes as much as possible when constructing new drums, which they would in turn take back to the Neo-Medievalist Gothic events and play or sell. Aßmannn supposed that most of the company’s woodworking tools and equipment bought when DRD was first formed were purchased with money generated by selling the first handmade drums at these events. He also made it clear that these drums were early models and that they have evolved over time. Apparently, DRD drums were constructed with a greater reliance on power tool use and achieved a greater level of consistency in construction during the third to sixth years the company was in business, primarily due to the interactions Dill and Faulwasser had with the local Neo-Medievalist community. The drums are continuous evolution in their construction, but as described below, that can sometimes mean a return to previous methods or a fine tuning of reoccurring, more recently employed methods. A continuous dialogue between the makers and the Neo-Medievalist Gothic community has been a formative element in this co-evolution since the inception of the company.
Performance Settings and Commissions

One important result of cultivating an “insider” status for DRD has been commissions from within the Neo-Medievalist Gothic music scene. By gaining a reputation for performance experience at scene functions, even those in smaller settings than performers whom commission instruments from DRD, the company has made connections with musicians that have led to building drums with the Neo-Medievalist Gothic performer’s needs directly addressed. One higher profile example occurred when David Roman Drums was commissioned by Neo-Medievalist Goth band Corvus Corax to make some frame drums and tabors, a double-headed medieval-style bass drums, and a large, rack-mounted barrel-style constructed frame drum for a series of performances and recordings. Corvus Corax are known for their vigorous presentation of medieval melodies with the attitude of a modern heavy metal band. They often play at sizeable venues that house thousands of people or they stage lavish events merging themselves with small chamber orchestras and thespians, incorporating elaborate props and elegant, dark-themed costumes. The band typically plays only acoustic instruments such as bagpipes, natural horns, shawms, and lutes, but often amplifies them in some way, using microphones or pickups, in part to match the excited playing of the drummers and to fill the acoustic space of large venues. To complete the commission with these contexts in mind, DRD faced a number of challenges: that the drums were expected to be played loudly, mostly with beaters and sticks, rather than by hand, and in some way the drums would need to be secured in unconventional ways. In addition, Corvus Corax required all the drums to include the patented DRD pneumatic tuning devices to alleviate the problems associated with travel, weather, and performing with other tuned instruments.

Each drum had its own set of hurdles which DRD needed to overcome. The Medieval style bass drum had to be fitted with the option of a harness for wearing it like a modern marching bass drum. Also the tuning device needed to be accessible, yet hidden from the
view of the audience, for the most. Then they had to construct the drum to appear suggestive of a historically accurate model, keeping within the tolerance of Neo-Medievalist Gothic sensibilities. The large frame drum and barrel style drum added new considerations: mounting the drums on stands or racks meant re-thinking how to build the basic shell and the tuning device had to remain accessible when mounted. These drums would be very large, too, perhaps over 4 feet in diameter.\textsuperscript{124} That meant that the pneumatic system for tuning would have to be specially designed for them, as this exceeded the typical diameter of DRD’s basic frame drums. All the drums also potentially needed reinforcements, in order to withstand the energetic striking characteristic of the groups’ players during a show.

Figure 14: Corvus Corax shows are typically lavish and involve extreme temperature changes, rigorous movement, and high volume, requiring instrument construction to meet the needs of their performance styles. Note the DRD drums on stage: one being played harnessed to the percussionist in the centre of the stage between the second and third flames from the left and the large drum mounted on a rack behind the fourth flame from the left.

\textsuperscript{124}The final design and realised model of the drum was approximately 4.5 feet in diameter.
The parameters outlined by these requests persuade DRD to choose methods of constructions that placed their drums within the scene’s realm of acceptable aesthetics whilst meeting the performance demands of the group on a functional level. To what extent, then can the boundaries of acceptability be pushed? Tradition, in terms of an ethnic or regional folk and classical performance presentation, is not an issue. Instead, DRD has to take into consideration the formulated tradition generated by the actors at work within the network of the Neo-Medievalist Gothic music genre. How true to historical data did the drums need to be? Livingston suggests that a constructed tradition based on a revival of historically informed performance may only remain as true to historical data as is generally accepted by the fans and performers of the genre (1999:69,70). Whilst the Neo-Medievalist Gothic scene is not really revivialist in character (as discussed in chapter 2), it nonetheless has parallels with revivalist movements, such as the Early Music revival, as regards to the construction of the scene’s acceptable aesthetics. The sensibilities commonly taken to be acceptable will, then, constitute the set of data that DRD use to inform their construction decisions for a commission from within the Neo-Medievalist genre. The innovation of the rack-mounted frames and the use of modern sticks during a performance are of little concern in terms of tradition, since Neo-Medievalist Gothic bands typically accept these as standard. Interestingly, the ancient appearance of the drums, despite their contemporary drum hardware and sticks, possesses a different standard within the genre’s community. DRD was aware of this and made the drums accordingly, giving them a simulated antique look that conveys the performers’ sensibility of an archaic style, reifying their position of authority within the subcultural community.
Establishing and Supporting Authority

Through commissions, performing, and participating in the scene, DRD has cultivated a positive reputation for the company within the community. This reputation has encouraged some artists to interact with the company and purchase pre-made drums. Lisa Gerrard, vocalist and multi-instrumentalist for well-known Neo-Medievalist Gothic band Dead Can Dance, visited the DRD workshop to obtain drums to be used on some of her recently issued solo releases. Gerrard did not commission specific drums, however. She selected instruments from the DRD general stock which were made with no specific patron in mind. The instruments she purchased apparently met her standards for tonal quality, comfort and ease of playing, and visual aesthetics (according to accounts given by the DRD

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125 This occurred sometime during 2007. I was not given an exact date. Conversation with Dill 15 March, 2009.
workers who were present during her visit). She was said to have commented on their authentic look, sonic excellence in regards to the music she performs, and their playability.

Lisa Gerrard, although she purchased mainly stock drums, built without specific consideration for her, felt DRD’s drums met her demands for visual aesthetics. This suggests that DRD was well versed in the sensibilities of the Neo-Medievalist community prior to Gerrard’s visit. The residual manifestations of interactions born of the maker-instrument-player network can be seen here. Undoubtedly, interactions such as the one DRD had with Corvus Corax and their participation in Neo-Medievalist Gothic music events while settling on the construction methods to be employed for their commissions have partially educated the builders, and contributed to their pool of knowledge from which they inform aesthetically-based decisions, in this case, for instruments being built for general stock that make them attractive to potential Neo-Medievalist customers.

DRD’s appeal to Neo-Medievalist performers, in part, lies with their ability to produce drums that evoke older historical periods. When discussing the older look of DRD’s drums with Dill and Faulwasser, both artisans suggested that the Gothic customers and the more traditional percussionists alike preferred an antiqued look to their instruments (although, they also noted that some of performers enjoyed standing out from more traditional players through more modern decoration of the instruments, as discussed below). I experienced this more directly when undertaking an internship with DRD and, building my own drums. Many of DRD’s construction methods utilize power tools and less conventional approaches involving homemade devices and economically suitable

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126 Conversation with Dill. 15 March, 2009 (also supported by another worker, Patrik, during the same conversation).
127 Taken from interviews with Henning Aßmann and David Fetcher, 20 March 2009.
128 As suggested by Henning Aßmann during an interview 20 March, 2009.
techniques.\textsuperscript{130} Whilst using a motorized lathe to turn a drum frame so that I could quickly and easily sand the surfaces, Dill suggested that if I wanted to make the instrument appear less “new” and possess a “level of character”, I should purposely make mistakes and not be too much of a perfectionist.\textsuperscript{131} He professed to be of the mind that if an instrument appeared to be without flaws, even a bespoke instrument, that it would visually be associated with a modern production line. He claimed this was undesirable to most clients, even though it was blatantly obvious that modern equipment was used to build the drums. Dill observed that everyone who bought DRD drums clearly realized they were made within the past few years with the modern technology available. However, if clients were not directly reminded of that fact, he chuckled, it increased the chances of making a sale.

In some cases, as with the case of David Kuckhermann, an antique appearance is either irrelevant or undesirable. Currently David Roman Drum’s only sponsored artist, David Kuckhermann is a professional percussionist performing a range of Iranian, Egyptian, Eastern European, and modern music using DRD drums almost exclusively. His instructional videos are easily found online and sold through the DRD website, and he regularly tours and records, playing in high profile situations.\textsuperscript{132} Kuckhermann’s drums are easily distinguished. Aside from being up to DRD’s sonic and comfort standards, these drums often have modern art burned into the wood of the frame and occasionally will have decorations painted on the skins by DRD’s resident pyrography artist, Julia Surba. While Surba’s wood burnings do suggest something of a primitive or ancient cave drawing, thus introducing a historical element of sorts, her pyrography is undoubtedly contemporary and somewhat avant garde. The image that DRD presents through David Kuckhermann and the artwork he chooses to

\textsuperscript{130} For instance, microwaving steam bent frames to dry them in large self-built ovens made from old refrigerators and microwave cookers. See below for more details.

\textsuperscript{131} Taken from a conversation with Dill, 17 March, 2009.

\textsuperscript{132} For videos of Kuckhermann giving instructions on performing techniques using DRD drums, visit his website at \url{http://www.framedrums.net/} (accessed 13 September, 2011.)
commission for his drums is one that is quite different from that of a traditional or historically concerned patron.

![Figure 16: Examples of Surba's pyrography artwork on Kuckermann's drums, both made by DRD.](image)

Despite Kuckermann’s high profile and distinct visual aesthetic (by way of Surba’s pyrography), the drums perceived to be more traditional or historically correct are the style of percussion that sells best for DRD.¹³³ In part this may be because including Surba’s pyrography in a commission can increase the price of a bespoke drum up to double that of a drum without burned wood artwork. David Kuckermann is well-known within much of the frame drumming community, across many genres and performance levels, so perhaps there is a mentality that copying him too closely may be considered inappropriate. I suggest, however, that while there is a certain level of appreciation for Kuckermann’s sensibilities and Surba’s artistic style, a desire to present material on a an instrument that assists in conveying a more traditional or historically aware style has greater appeal, especially within the genre of Neo-Medievalist Gothic music.

There are also other sources of information that lead DRD to maintain a level of tradition or historical relation with their products. Familiarity with traditional performance

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¹³³ Information gathered from DRD during my visit in March 2009.
techniques typically associated with the instruments can be a strong influence. Outside of performance styles and techniques, an understanding of the methods used by and a sense of loyalty to their instrument building predecessors can also assist in formulating a maker’s concept of what is considered traditional. Attaching to their products a sensibility of traditional performance and construction, as well as traditional appearance, may serve to reify the Neo-Medievalist mentality in terms of sonic association with historical accuracy. Of course, the actual historical accuracy of timbre and sounds created using period performance techniques is largely unknown for certain styles and instruments, particularly earlier ones, but modern Neo-Medievalist performers primarily base their concepts of accuracy on established genre standards rather than historical precedent. DRD’s drum sounds being already immersed in the genre provide a sonic accuracy that may be challenged if the percussion were built to be more historically accurate. Instead, the makers focus on maintaining a level of craftsmanship as compared to their Iranian counterparts and other European frame drum makers that meets their standards, while paying homage to previous makers of similar drums from whose example they partially model their wares. By remaining true to their own sensibilities, DRD has established a set of standards that informs and is in turn moulded by performers within the Neo-Medievalist Gothic music community.

DRD claim that they are directly connected with older traditions and makers. When discussing traditional drum makers with me during my internship, Dill mentioned that some of the methods of construction he suggested I learn were patterned after techniques used by builders practicing decades or even centuries ago. In particular, whilst shaping and preparing a tonbak goblet drum, he pointed out differences between the styles of construction I was learning and using and those used by most contemporary makers in Iran. The contour of my drum was somewhat cylindrical and its outside was ridged, but the inside


was left rough and un-sanded, leaving the walls of its hand-chiselled surface extremely ragged. Dill showed me contrasting features on some more recently made tonbaks that had a rounder, bowl-like shape to their upper body and inside and out were polished and smooth. He explained that the old way gave the drum more pronounced bass frequencies and facilitated traditional performance techniques, including one in which the player scrapes the tip of their fingernail along the body of the drum to produce a ratchet sound, all whilst maintaining a more historical appearance. He complained harshly about the newer construction methods, claiming that they were unnecessarily ornate and too high pitched to be able to perform the full range of sounds needed for Iranian classical music. The newer style of body with its smooth surface would not generate the full range of frequencies desired and some of the traditional techniques would be impossible to perform. Dill also pointed out that Neo-Medievalist Gothic performers would prefer an older style drum because it would be more true to the (perceived) sound of the Middle Ages, reflecting a timbre one may have heard after crusaders returned to Europe with the spoils of war.

Dill was very proud to have been able to impart this information about the drum building tradition in which he professed to be the most recent addition, yet Dill left many points vague at best. He stated that he followed these methods of older builders as a means of upholding tradition, but at no time was I able to gather specific information from him about these methods nor discover how he learned about them. As far as I could ascertain, through direct inquires or discussions with co-workers, Dill had not travelled to Iran, had not studied with any Iranian drum makers, nor had even a drum building teacher to claim as his direct predecessor. I cannot say that this was not the case, but I can say that I found no evidence of it. Obviously, he did not study with a percussion maker from the Middle Ages, even though he told me that he had visited Germany’s largest musical instrument museum, the Musikinstrumenten Museum Berlin, several times to investigate construction of older
drums.\textsuperscript{136} However, Dill firmly declared that he was part of a lineage of Iranian and Medieval drum builders. If questioned about the tradition of his drum making, he may well be the first to point out that he used modern tools, altered a drum’s construction to accommodate contemporary playing techniques or economies, or that his wares were unique comparatively, but he still firmly planted himself in a line of makers whom he felt were his inspiration and role models. A sense of integrity was constructed and supported through this association, attached to an apparent assumption that the older builder’s methods were somehow more valuable, accurate, and correct. The timbre and construction methods Dill uses to build a tonbak are a perfect examples of this: while the timbre of the more modern tonbak drum is simply different from that resulting from an instrument constructed using older style techniques, there is a tendency to assume that the sound of this older style drum, is of higher quality and more aesthetically valuable.

Along with the sonic and visual qualities Dill wanted to uphold by aligning himself and the company with a lineage of builders, no matter how mysterious or intangible those builders may seem, he also wanted to maintain that DRD’s work was of equal or higher quality than that of the previous makers in the lineage (and, of course, of those builders outside the lineage). During his instruction of construction methods, Dill declared that his methods were best. In part, this seemed to be a reification of his construction choices as well as an attempt to convince me to follow in his footsteps. Dill appeared to be concerned with establishing and maintaining the authority and quality of the company’s craftsmanship through the attention paid to and the similarities with older methods used and builders in his chosen lineage.

\textsuperscript{136} It should be noted that the drums at the Musikinstrumenten Museum Berlin are at the earliest from the late 1500s. While the construction methods and material used to build these drums are no longer employed as such, these are by no means direct models for medieval style drums. According to Roman, he also discussed percussion construction with academic researchers and merely gained a better understanding of these discussions by inspecting similarly made drums at the museum.
Playing the Part of the Maker: My Internship with David Roman Drums

One of my main methodological approaches whilst researching this thesis was interviewing makers and involving myself with the Neo-Medievalist Gothic scene. This placed me in several positions in relation to the maker-instrument-player network. As a scene participant on a social level, I was able to gain a better understanding of how fans and the events they organise and attended influenced actants. As a percussionist performing occasionally with Neo-Medievalist Gothic music projects, I have been able to formulate questions and relate to issues surrounding aspects of the network communication that involve playing techniques, settings, and aesthetics. I also have some experience as an instrument builder, but not a professional level. My experiences to date have been with building Tlingit native drums in Alaska,\textsuperscript{137} assisting Tibetan sGra sNyan makers in Lhasa (a six stringed, three course banjo-like lute),\textsuperscript{138} and I have attempted to reconstruct three of Luigi Russolo’s Intonarumori, that he made as part of his contribution to the Italian Futurist movement at the turn of the 20\textsuperscript{th} Century.\textsuperscript{139}

![Figure 17: The front and back of my first drum construction project, a modern Tlingit drum made from red cedar wood and moose hide, 2000.](image)

\textsuperscript{137} My first field project whilst studying ethnomusicology at North Carolina State University in a post-bac programme, 1998-2002.

\textsuperscript{138} As part of my field research whilst fulfilling my degree requirements for a master’s degree at University of Hawai‘i, 2003-2007.

\textsuperscript{139} Also as part of my coursework at North Carolina State University, partly researched years earlier for an acoustics research project at Clemson University, 1981-1988.
However, before this project was undertaken I did not have the opportunity to fully embrace the roles of both maker and player within the maker-instrument-player network; a role occupied by most workers at DRD. To explore this aspect of the network internally, I undertook an internship offered to me by David Roman Drums to assist them with general construction duties and build three drums of my choice from beginning to end. This enabled me to ask and find answers to some of the same questions that these makers pose themselves, whilst providing opportunities for informal discussions with the builders at DRD as my work progressed.

I made the decision to build two frame drums and a goblet drum during my internship. This selection would allow for me to address various types of performance issues and the possibility of incorporating certain construction features offered by DRD. Also, this would provide me with instruments that I would subsequently be able to play, thereby discovering the repercussions of my decisions in a performance setting. Initially, I had to settle upon the sizes I expected the instruments to be in their finished state. I opted for a 17” frame drum, a larger 19” frame drum, both of which would have threaded insertion receptors for density changing weights. For the goblet drum, I decided upon a Persian tonbak.

To begin making the drums, I was required to select the wood for the projects. Even at this early stage, I became a participant in an ongoing debate about the acoustic bearing the wood type would have on frame drums. According to Dill, there is little impact on the sound of the drum because of the open backed construction. He claims this removes any other significant factors from the timbre generating process and that only the room acoustics, the skin, the tuning and size of the frame’s diameter influence the sound. Dill made it clear that he considered the wood choice a largely a cosmetic issue. Aßmann, on the other hand, felt that the wood choice was critical. He suggested that the density of the frame, even if it were changed using the DRD weight system, contributed greatly to the
timbre and sustain of the drum. In part to test these contradictory theories, I choose to use three different woods. I was allowed to select planks from the DRD supply of wood, which eliminated some of my initial choices, but I was able to find wood that suited me. I chose red cherry for the 17” frame and mahogany for the 19” frame.

Unlike the frame drums, the tonbak is not constructed through moulding planks of wood. Instead, it is carved from a single block of wood and here I had little or no choice because of the limited amount of wood in this form that DRD had in stock. Apparently, the blocks of wood DRD receive from their suppliers are semi-prepared (meaning rounded and ready to turn or chisel) and at the time of my internship only one block remained at their workshop before the next shipment of wood arrived. I was given a block of black oak with which to make my tonbak.

Once the wood for the frame drums was selected, I had to form it into a circular shape. To do this, DRD use a steaming device they have devised themselves which consists of a large reservoir of water, a powerful distilling unit, and a container to house the plank of wood to be steamed. The plank is placed in the steamer and exposed to the steam conditioning for approximately one to two hours before being quickly removed, placed in a shaping mould, bent into a circle, and then clamped into place. This process requires the participation of several people, as the wood and the bending device are both very resistant to being reshaped, a process that requires considerable physical effort. The plank clamped in the mould was typically left to dry over night.
Once the shaped wood is removed from the bending apparatus, it is clamped and glued into place to form the frame. This is allowed to dry for several days before removing it and placing it in another form for further drying. The second drying stage takes place in another device built by DRD: a microwave heater constructed from two small microwave ovens and two large commercial freezer units. The drum frames are secured onto a drying form with ratchet strapping and left to dry in the microwaves for another several days.\footnote{One of my duties was to rotate the frames drying in the microwaves. I was told by Dill not to stand in front of them for too long! The conditions of the drying room, apparently, were neither fully safe nor sanctioned by the German Department of Health and Safety.}
When Dill or Aßmann decided that the wood was dry enough to work, the frame was carefully removed from the mould (drying would create extra tension in the frame and strapping) and placed on a turning lathe to shape the general contour. This was done in stages, alternated with carving out a channel on the outside of the frame for the tuning inner tube and preparing the leading edge. I went through five stages of sanding and removing excess wood to get the shape desired. My woodworking skills are sufficient\textsuperscript{141}, but I was guided in detail by Dill, who was particularly strict about specific measurements, insisting that my drum would not have the timbre or sonic capabilities I wanted if I did not

\begin{footnote}{141} I have completed two woodworking and turning courses at college and university levels and I have been employed for a short time (18 Months) as a carpenter’s assistant, all prior to my internship at DRD. I was familiar with all of the woodworking processes involved in the construction of the drums before working with Dill for this project. Also see below for my involvement in the construction and research of Tlingit frame drums in 2000.\end{footnote}
adhere to his tried and tested methods. Whilst I did undertake the actual physical work to shape the drum, Dill continually checked my progress, offering detailed advice each time. My agency in this part of the process was partially reduced, in terms of formulating my own approaches and goals of instrument building. Dill was fully embracing the role of artisan master during my undertaking an apprenticeship at his workshop; his concern was that I completed my project instilled with as much of his knowledge he felt comfortable divulging without yielding so much that his mastery was compromised. My internship was simultaneously unveiling the processes and decisions confronted whilst constructing an instrument, and also imparting the general set of methods and reasoning behind the decisions employed by Dill and his company. In essence, Dill’s years of experience eliminated the need for me to engage in a series of trial and error experiments to reach the same or similar results. By consenting to follow Dill’s instructions, I not only saved time and worked productively within the time constraints presented by the duration of by visit to DRD’s workshop, I was also afforded an opportunity to follow Dill’s process through first-hand experience in addition to showing respect and building rapport.\footnote{Many texts have been published on the subject of apprenticeships and student-teacher interactions. For a particularly relevant and detailed discussion of artisans imparting information through apprenticeships, see \textit{The Body Impolitic} (Herzfeld. 2004).}
During the shaping process, the outer edge of the frame nearest the leading edge had to be prepared for the inner tube tuning system (see above for details on the system itself). This was done using a table router and a handheld router. Afterwards, the frame underwent another series of shaping procedures (similar to the previous ones, but more refined) until Dill deemed it ready to have the skin attached. The process of inserting the tube, and stretching the skin were effectively simultaneous to facilitate locking the tuning system in place.
Construction of the tonbak differed greatly from the frame drums. The wood was neither steamed nor bent. Instead it was chiselled out of a single piece of black oak according to the design that Dill suggested for me. As discussed above, I had originally expected to make a tonbak that was more spherical on its upper half and that included a wider bell on its lower end, and thus somewhat different to the design Dill outlined for me. Dill was insistent on making a more traditional style tonbak, even though I did not offer any resistance to his suggestions. The inside of the drum had to be gouged out from the bottom of the drum using a handheld sander and a hammer and chisel. For safety reasons, I was not permitted to cut the channels in the side of the tonbak. Dill had made yet another homemade tool with which to create these channels which facilitate the classical performance technique of scraping ones finger nails across the outside of the drum to
generate a “ratchet” sound. The tool consists of a toothed blade that he affixed to the spindle on the table router. Dill felt the device was unsafe, even for him, but claimed it was part of his job to take the risk (not part of my thesis research).

Once the channels were cut, the drum was sealed in a large box with a reservoir of ammonia. The fumes from the ammonia were intended to prevent the cracking of the shell in the future and to darken the wood before coating it with linseed oil to seal the pores of the wood and bring out a desired patina and colour. This was its final preparation before attaching the skin.

![Image of the tonbak after the channels had been cut on the outside of the body.]

Figure 22: The tonbak after the channels had been cut on the outside of the body.
I was asked about my timbral preferences when the question of what skins to use for these various drums arose. Again, to introduce a range of timbral outcomes, I chose skins that exhibited a range of traits. For the red cherry frame drum I selected scraped goat skin, for the mahogany frame drum semi-scraped calf skin, and for the tonbak (other construction aspects of which are discussed in detail below) I chose horse skin. Faulwasser explained to me that the goat skin was thinner and would result in a more even frequency response in the higher pitch ranges. This was enhanced by the full scraping of the skin prior to it being stretched. The semi scraped calf skin was said to have a deeper tone, but not one in which the bass frequencies produced would become problematically prominent. The horse skin was suggested to me by Dill because he felt this was the most traditional type of skin and sound I could get from the tonbak. Faulwasser also suggested camel skin, claiming it had the same level of traditional use, but they both thought the horse skin would amplify a fuller range of tones and remain supple for longer.
Once attached, the skins were held in place with tension devices and left to dry for two days. Skinning the tonbak was a slightly different situation. Because DRD has not perfected the means to include the inner tube tuning system with the goblet drums yet, the drum needed to be skinned using a more traditional method. Prior to attaching the skin permanently (in part because the horse skin is thicker and will stretch much further than a thinner skin, such as the calf or goat skins), it had to be pre-stretched in order for it to maintain a playable tension once glued onto the body of the tonbak. For this, I was given a plate to attach to the bottom of the shell and told to tie the skin on, as if it were to be glued. I stretched the skin once each hour over a period of several hours and then left it to adjust to the tension over night. Afterwards, it was re-stretched and glued into place in the same way as with the other drums.
Figure 25: Pre-stretching the horse skin for the tonbak.

Figure 26: Affixing the skins to the frames and allowing them to dry fully using a tension increasing device to keep them taut.
Reflecting on the experience of building these drums, I can more easily place myself in the role of the maker, at least to the point of better understanding some of the decisions makers may face, for I would not claim to be a master builder of any sort. My initial reaction was one of great personal satisfaction. Whilst this is not a quantifiable factor, it is an important one, and although my thesis does not address this as strongly as perhaps it should, it must be noted that the rewards of gratification can become a significant motive for makers - especially of hand-crafted musical instruments, and when those makers also play the instruments they have produced. The dual role of the maker and player taken on simultaneously makes this enhanced initiative possible. Diverse streams of intangible connections emerge in this setting: pride related to the design, manufacturing, and completion of an instrument can be coupled with the pleasure of hearing your instrument played and having your own performances appreciated on multiple levels. Players who make their own instruments tend to be a rather small, exclusive group amongst performers of Western classical and popular music. In the case Neo-Medievalist Gothic musicians, performing on homemade instruments may be more common (if there are considerations of expenses and availability that are addressed through self realization of supplying the instruments that are sought after), but this status still comes with a sizeable level of prestige and clout.

Questions of aesthetics counter and reinforce pragmatic concerns during construction. I found that I often had to choose between meeting expectations of desired visual traits with performance setting, techniques, and logistics. Building a 19” frame drum meant it was too large to fit into most cases, but it afforded me the lower pitches I wanted to incorporate into my music. The tonbak provided me with the means to learn new playing styles, yet the black oak body is excessively heavy and sensitive to climate changes. The smaller red cherry frame drum has proved to be consistently convenient, but compared to the larger frame drum, provides a more restricted range of tones and does not house the
density changing weights as efficiently. With the knowledge gained from undertaking of the construction of these drums and their subsequent use in performance situations, I can now adjust my presentations to fit my equipment. I might also approach another instrument building project with a renewed understanding of how particular decisions can affect the outcome of the end product and its performances potentials. These are all elements that makers who are also players will bring to discourses couched within the maker-instrument-player network.

Figure 27: The completed frame drums. Note the inner tube value protruding from the inside of the frame near the thumb hole grip and the threaded receptors for the density weights to the right of the valve.
Figure 28: The completed tonbak.

Sharpening the Tool of Authority

David Roman Drums, as a dual actant, extends several fluent and distinct connections on the maker-instrument-player network. In addition to the connections that come with a singular actant role, DRD is in a position to establish and maintain a notable level of authority on subjects of interest to the music scene’s community and thereby elevate their status, gaining the benefits that come with insider knowledge of shifts in a community’s perceived values. The dialogue between actants is initiated by and responded to by both players and maker(s), each “discussion” potentially becoming a catalyst for the conduit through which they interact to be constructed, deconstructed, and rebuilt to reflect the network’s evolution. In one direction, DRD absorbs the output of the player, taking relayed and observed techniques and converting them into physicalities and traits that are shaped and moulded to aesthetic and pragmatic realities. All of the commissions discussed above exhibit this activity. Mortazavi presents a performance technique and a challenge to enhance it which leads DRD to mastermind an engineering response to be realized in a new
model of drum. Corvus Corax requests special attention be paid to their performance settings and the subsequent rigorous travel they must endure to which DRD reacted with innovations and professionalism in the form of upgraded and bespoke equipment.

In the opposite direction, DRD puts forth knowledge and authority which is met with respect and fulfilled expectations, and this, too, is manifested around the pivotal actant, the instrument. DRD’s communication with Kayam gathered information about preferences and performance techniques anticipated, but also imparted more in return in an undulating reversing flow of ideas that culminated in Kayam’s satisfaction, both with his maker-player interaction and the resultant percussion instruments. Gerrard had no prior dialogue with DRD, but embraced DRD’s reputation and the exposition of scene aesthetics inherent in their wares. Authority is built on these displays and responds in kind through patronage and testimonial. Once authority, respect, and status have been allocated, maintaining these characteristics is possible through continually revisiting these interactions. This is not to say these interactions should or will be the same; instead it is the response and manifestation of understanding that must remain consistent for DRD to keep their place, for the aesthetics and values of the scene and its players will be forever fluid, as will be the injection of the maker’s sensibilities and capabilities.

DRD, in particular, approaches maintenance of its role in the Neo-Medievalist Gothic scene through balancing historical evocation, awareness of tradition, embracing modernity, and reflective innovation. Not all of their sensibilities match that of the scene’s, nor do all of their decisions have a positive outcome, but the majority of their interactions seem to have placed them firmly in a position of acceptance and respect within the maker-instrument-player network to the degree of affording them a means to succeed and engage in both the livelihood and performance practices they desire. Authority, respect, and the duality of insider/outsider knowledge can, and in this case, have become important tools of the trade for a maker.
Chapter Four
Re-Defining Historical Accuracy and Aesthetic Acceptance
– Jan Goorissen and the Ruby Gamba

Concepts of authenticity can take many forms. Sometimes commonly accepted notions of what constitutes an aspect of being authentic conflicts with alternate opinions of authenticity. In these cases, someone regarding the alternate concept as being more valuable may be reject or ignore the commonly accepted concept, in part or in full. By embracing an alternative concept of authenticity, new or different means to develop and support that concept may arise and be established. This new means can also be embraced in related, but different, or even remote contexts as supporting a separate concept of authenticity. This can be seen in the case of Jan Goorissen and his development of his electric viola de gamba and how this instrument as become an accepted and even somewhat sought after instrument within the neo-Medievalist Gothic music scene.

Jan Goorissen is an Early Music performer living and working in the Netherlands. He holds performance degrees in both recorder and viola de gamba from Fontys Hogescholen, Eindhoven. Currently, when he is not performing, he teaches Early Music performance and techniques of improvising at Hanze Hogescholen in Groningen, Netherlands. He typically performs pre-Sixteenth Century composition, improvised music, and modern avant garde pieces. Drawing from his education, career as a teacher, and performance experience, Goorissen has formulated what constitutes an authentic approach to performing and teaching music, including Early Music and Early Music influenced genres. The ways in which he constructs authentic performance is very selective in that only some historical accuracy is taken into account whilst aspects of modern experimental performance are also embraced.
Historical Accuracy and Education

In an interview with Goorissen in May 2011, he described his studies of Early Music performance at Fontys Hogescholen as being “a rigid, conservatory education”. He went on to say that he feels that most music performance education systems are similar. Goorissen explained to me that he felt such rigid systems encouraged a negative separation of necessary pedagogical elements that historically were taught more concurrently in an intertwined and cooperative manner. More specifically, he stressed the historical accuracy of using of improvisation in Early Music performance, observing that it also accorded closely with his personal aesthetics. He sees, however, that improvisation is not encouraged within the education systems with which he is familiar.

It is well documented that improvisation played a significant role in music of various forms from the Middle Ages to the late Renaissance. Discussions of textual evidence (McGee. 2003; Ficker. 1946-7; Hartman and Milner. 1962:29; Smith. 1992; Cook. 1992) inform us that in both oral and written transmissions of music, improvisation was an expected and often indispensable part of performance practice. Barrett (2005) offers a simplified paraphrasing of Timothy McGee’s interpretation of the on text and how it relates to improvisation in Early Music:

“...the ‘surviving [Medieval] text, whether it be literature, music, or choreography, is incomplete and requires unwritten additions by the performers in order to bring it to life in terms of the expectations of the early centuries’.”

(2005:125)

Furthermore, notated music may have been a framework from which music was typically embellished in specific improvisational styles. Gomez and Haggh (1990:215) suggest that music written down in the late Middle Ages was effectively a skeletal progression and melodic contour akin to charts modern jazz musicians read, from which ornamentation would be extrapolated and added in by the player, not prescribed by the composer. Some notation, as with the text of the Faenza Codex, was potentially notated for a single
instrument, but expected to be transcribed, probably whilst sight reading by the musician, for a number of other instruments and embellished using accepted styles associated with the new instrument (McGee. 1986:486-7) Improvisatory styles specific to the genre being performed was also expected. Bechtel (1980: 109) states that a student of Early Music should have grounding in essential improvising styles (referring here to both performers in earlier times and modern historically informed performers).

Following this research on historical musical texts, many instructional discussions have been published on how modern performers should play Early Music in order to emulate how a performance may have been presented historically, in particular since the resurgence of interest in Early Music performance in the 60s and 70s. Although some performance instructional literature blatantly rejects the notion of giving the player a sizeable amount of leeway when recreating Early music works, most of these performance suggestions tend to devote a sizeable portion of their content to improvisation (Leech Wilkinson. 2002, Duffin. 2000, McGee. 1985/1990), encouraging the performer to study and implement improvisation as a means of increasing the historical accuracy of their presentations.

The idea of experimentation and improvisation within a piece contrasts the common 20th Century notion that, although any performance is injected with a personal interpretation of the work, concert music (including Early Music performance) is meant to be played “as written”, with little or no improvisation outside that which is called for in the text or historical setting. Taruskin makes an observation that accounts for the large amount of improvisation inherent in music performance prior to the Baroque period. He suggests that earlier periods of performance were formative times, filled with experimentation, much of it in the form of improvising and ornamentation. He argues, then, that it maintains

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143 Barrett points out that Rosenfeld argues strongly against experimenting as a modern performer of Medieval music, specifically in terms of improvising due to the lack of exact stylistic description in surviving Medieval music texts. (Barrett. 2005:126.)
historical accuracy to incorporate experimentation, such as improvising, when presenting modern versions of Early Music works and styles.\textsuperscript{144}

It is this notion that strongly influences Goorissen’s concepts of authentic Early Music performance. He sees Early Music performance as needing an approach that includes experimentation via improvisation to maintain a level of historical accuracy. He does not completely reject the notion of playing music as written, per se, but he does embrace an outlook that all performers should make a piece their own through personal rendition\textsuperscript{145}. Barrett discusses the aspect of Early Music performance in which a player simply does not have enough information to perform with great historical accuracy, and therefore, instead of providing definitive performances or restricting performance to recommended solutions to performance issues, “notions of authenticity are repeatedly displaced onto the performer” (2005:123). Here Barrett is referring to a Medieval music performance guide (Duffin, ed. 2000) in which the authors encourage the performer to study the surviving texts as much as possible, but take them as a guide, so to speak, for realising music that includes “making their own editions, experimenting with tuning, and ... the reconstruction of instruments.”\textsuperscript{146}

Goorissen employs this mentality from the point of view of a performer. He studied both of his main instruments, recorder and viol, in a conservatory setting. His initial understanding of performance and the transmission of performance techniques was formulated through the conservatory. Goorissen told me during a phone interview that he felt there were severe problems with the conservatory teaching systems, primarily problems that stemmed from a lack of teaching improvisation and experimentation or an expectation that such techniques would be incorporated into performance practices. He feels reintroducing experimentation and improvisation as standard elements of modern teaching

\textsuperscript{144} Here it should be noted, as with Bechtel’s article on ornamentation and improvisation in Early Music, these styles are outlines by strict constraints and different in that sense from modern freely improvised music. See Bechtel, Ben. 1980. “Improvisation in Early Music” in Music Educators Journal: January 1980. Pp. 109-112.
\textsuperscript{145} Phone conversation with Goorissen. 9 May, 2011.
\textsuperscript{146} Barrett. 2005:123.
of Early Music performance studies would result in a more historically accurate method of teaching and resultant Early Music performance.\textsuperscript{147} Goorissen seeks to develop a pedagogical system that embraces merging Early Music performance with composition, improvisation studies, related ethnomusicology studies, and even some instrument construction elements. For him, this combination of studies is the best way to emulate earlier periods of music study. Goorissen hopes this will result in performers emerging from an education system prepared to play Early Music in the spirit in which it was originally performed. He refers to this method of teaching that conveys music performance holistically as “synergetic education”. The emphasis of synergetic education would be experimenting with pieces and performance techniques to foster an ever evolving style within a specific discipline.

Goorissen feels he should work with an established institution to develop a synergetic education curriculum and he was recently offered a position at Trinity College, Greenwich, UK. In hopes that they would allow him to implement a synergetic course for study, he presented his new syllabus to them, asking the college if they would be willing to offer administrative support to initiate and fund a synergetic education programme. Trinity College did not match Goorissen’s enthusiasm for this pedagogical approach, however, and refused to offer assistance to develop it.\textsuperscript{148} As a result, Goorissen did not accept Trinity College’s position and sought to teach elsewhere.

This experience and his conservatory education both support Goorissen’s view that Early Music performance education and the market to which it caters are largely unchanging and conservative.\textsuperscript{149} Here he is referring to the mentality he finds consistently demonstrated

\textsuperscript{147} Ibid. 9 May, 2011.  
\textsuperscript{148} I should point out that I have no information directly from Trinity College about this, so I cannot provide details about the discussion, Goorissen’s curriculum proposed, or any funding needed to engage Goorissen’s education plan.  
\textsuperscript{149} Goorissen’s repeatedly called modern Early Music education systems and their related markets “unchanging”. He mentioned this to me both at our first meeting in Greenwich, Nov 2007, via email, and during our phone conversation 9 May, 2011.
by music department administrations, designers of performance studies curriculums, and many of the performers whom come out of such a pedagogical setting. Since turning down the position with Trinity College, Goorissen has begun teaching within a synergetic context\textsuperscript{150} at Hanze Hogescholen, in Groningen, Netherlands, but for him, this is only part of the solution. As a performer, Goorissen also feels the need to nurture a synergetic approach in practice by experimenting musically with Early Music pieces, playing techniques, and instrument construction and encouraging others to do the same.

He proposes that concert performance is a living art in which new styles are continuously merged with old ones, creating an evolution of techniques and interpretations as players explore the pieces and styles they perform and the instruments they use. Whilst discussing the modern approaches to Early Music performance, Goorissen expressed how he regularly finds Early Music is often coupled with contemporary experimental music in performers’ personal interests and/or in performance practices. Goorissen himself cites playing post-war Serialism and Early Music as the starting point for his personal musical development. He feels that “a return to exploring past music leads to innovative and re-thought-out methods of performing” \textsuperscript{151} He observed that contemporary avant garde music and Early Music performance have many parallels (for him) and the idea of exploring old styles to enhance new ones also works in reverse.

Paige and Ferneyhough both concur with this idea. Ferneyhough, in his chapter ‘Shaping Sound’ (2000: 154) reminds us that specific instrumental timbre was not of serious concern for musicians up until the seventeenth century, pointing out that performance situations often could not guarantee particular instrumentation or even that a specific tuning system would be observed. He goes on to point out that institutionalized music making until recently had more or less been “graven in stone” and the notion of a composer not explicitly addressing the issue of timbre and instrumentation was generally uncommon

\textsuperscript{150} As defined and outlined by Goorissen.  
\textsuperscript{151} Phone Interview with Goorissen. 9 May, 2011.
and uncomfortable for the composer, listener, and performer. Ferneyhough credits a flourishing interest in Early Music for bringing about new ways of addressing timbre and instrumentation, which has brought about a renewed “flexibility of presentation” in modern music.\textsuperscript{152} He sees the resultant timbral palette and instrumentation available to have also increased the flexibility of older music performance. Since music is primarily a self-contained art form, he asserts, it will largely “enter into conversation with its own past” (2000: 153), which suggests that new timbres and instruments may find their way into Early Music performance, et cetera.

Similarly, in his essay ‘Ancient Voices’, Christopher Page observes that without breaking free of the constraints of Victorian sonic sensibilities, modern interpretations of medieval sonic palettes would not be as historically accurate as they have currently become (page. 2000:133-150). He explains that through researching and rethinking the ways in which sounds are and were produced, that modern Early Music performance comes more closely to being an imitation of the past, whilst also making the point that interpretations of Early Music are almost unavoidably constrained or shaped by the contemporary sensibilities of the time and place they are performed.

Goorissen heavily promotes incorporating modern performance techniques to enhance Early Music presentation. One example Goorissen gave me was a concert at which he played a Bach concerto rescored for viola de gamba and two accordions that called for all instruments’ timbres to be altered in some way (i.e. electronic distortion or preparation a la John Cage, et cetera). This is slightly different from recreating a sonically accurate historical performance, however. Instead, this approach is more in line with recreating the experimental attitude of performance in earlier times, not the actual sounds potentially generated. Herein lies a shift in emphasis on the criteria that defines historical accuracy from a more traditional outlook on historic performance presentation. For Goorissen, recreating

\textsuperscript{152} Ferneyhough. 2000:154.
historical performance is of great value, but more valuable to him seems to be the ways in which modern performance is approached. He seeks to prioritize evoking and finding parallels in the performance methods, situations, and mentalities of the past over paying close attention to period aesthetics. As discussed in the Ferneyhough and Page essays, a move away from the rigid institutionalized expectations of sonic palettes and playing techniques, in some cases simplifying and in others extending possibilities of performance methods, has occurred since the turn of the 20th century. Goorissen, in light of and inspired by this, calls for an escape from the Victorian/Classical attitudes in favour of embracing the new palette of sounds and techniques to be used when realising Early Music works.

Let me return briefly to the maker-instrument-player network. In this case, as we will see, the maker and the player are one and the same and the instrument serves to create a closed circuit. In this, the maker/player’s outlooks on historical accuracy and aesthetics are manifested in a new conduit (a new instrument). Drawing on his experience as a student, performer, researcher, and philosopher of music, Goorissen has channeled his energies (if only temporarily). He has shifted his focus from seeking to perform and teach, in what he deems a historically accurate manner, to seeking to generate new tools, settings, and a series of priorities enabling players to embrace his particular take on historical accuracy. What Goorissen desired at this point, in order to realize these goals, is the means to undertake sonic exploration to its fullest, and for him that has necessitated the design and construction of a new instrument.

**Contemporarily Informed Instrument Construction**

Experimenting with Early Music interpretation does not necessarily mean that a player has to perform outside of conservative constraints and expectations. However, Goorissen discovered that his historically informed, standard acoustic viol did not offer enough options for embracing the full potential of experimentation within his performances. Range, timbre, and even extended techniques (such as bowing below the bridge or using
string preparations a la John Cage) were too limited. In essence, Goorissen felt he needed a new instrument. In addition, he found that his acoustic viola de gamba too quiet when performing alongside electric instruments. Goorissen cites this as being among the main reasons that the popularity of the viol waned after its heyday in the late 17th Century, stating that with “... the introduction of larger ensembles, or orchestras, the gamba lost its practical use for musicians, due to its softer tone (less volume compared to the cello).”

Accordingly, Goorissen sought a form of gamba instrument that was adjustable in volume which could to be successfully used in a modern or historical context, and which would allow for more expression than a traditional model. Goorissen decided to have an electric viol built for him to see if this would give him the possibilities he sought.

One of Goorissen’s students at the Hanze Hogescholen was an amateur electric guitar maker. Goorissen approached him to collaborate on building an electric viol based on Goorissen’s design suggestions. Their work resulted in the first version of Goorissen’s electric viol. Goorissen described it to me as “basically an upright electric guitar with some cut away sections and a curved bridge that allowed bowing [techniques similar to those used when playing an acoustic viol].” According to Goorissen, this model was functional and advanced his performance explorations which introduced him to many new playing techniques, but also suggested to him many more possibilities that he was not able to explore on the new instrument. As a result, although he saw the advancement of playing this model, he also saw the limitations it imposed. He wanted an instrument that was closer the responsiveness and playing techniques of an acoustic viola de gamba with an extended range compared to any single viol (he did not want to be limited to any one voice within

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153 Ibid. 9 May, 2011.
155 Phone Interview with Goorissen. 9 May, 2011.
156 Goorissen arranged to have the student’s tuition fees reduced to exchange for constructing his design. In addition, the student was given university credit for the project. Phone interview with Goorissen. 9 May, 2011.
157 Ibid. 9 May, 2011.
those that make up a standard consort). The electric instrument had features he wished to retain, however. Goorissen enjoyed the increased control and range of volume and new possibilities for timbre. He began to redesign the electric viol, this time, collaborating in 2001 with acoustic viol maker Floris-Jan van der Voort.

Van der Voort is a cello maker who turned his attention to making viols in 1995 after attending West Dean College in West Sussex, UK where he studied Early bowed instrument construction. Goorissen’s relationship with van der Voort is based on player/teacher – maker interactions. Goorissen was familiar with van der Voort’s instruments and van der Voort knew of and approved of Goorissen’s approaches to teaching and performance sensibilities. Using the prototype guitar-based model as a guide, van der Voort incorporated several features of an acoustic viol into Goorissen’s updated design. The result of their collaboration was a solid body, electric viola de gamba, which they call the Ruby Gamba.

Their new instrument included many features that supported expanded performance techniques and simultaneously attempted to provide the player with a similar experience to that afforded by an acoustic viol. The Ruby Gamba features a series of cutaways and an adjustable peg that supports either standing or seated playing. It is equipped with two piezo contact pickups in the bridge and a stereo output system that allows for

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158 Unfortunately, I was not able to interview van der Voort or Goorissen in depth about their collaboration prior to the deadline of my thesis submission. It would be fascinating to learn more about the dual role of maker and player for Goorissen and the joint design work for both builders as well as outline a more specific, detailed evolution of the design and its maturation to a fully functional instrument. I propose that this line of questioning be undertaken in future studies, be those my own or a fellow researcher equally interested in using Actor-Network Theory to unravel the ways in which these channels of interaction spark ideas that come to fruition.

159 Multiple times I have encountered confusion surrounding the name of the instrument. The name is not derived from colour, the name of a precious stone, or a woman’s name. In fact, I have not been able to discern the exact origin of the name and Goorissen has not expanded upon this beyond that it has nothing to do with the expected relations listed here.

160 A piezo pick up is specifically used to amplify an acoustic resonator. It works by affixing the pick up to the body of the resonator so that the sound amplified by the resonator can deform a piezo crystal within the pickup. When the crystal is deformed, it emits a small electrical charge which is transmitted through the wiring of the device and sent to an amplifier, where it is translated back into an air-transmitted compression wave (via a speaker cone). Piezo pickups, because they relay the resonator sound by means of solid to solid transmission, the timbre and nuances of the resonating body can be reproduced more accurately without interference from outside sources, like noise bleed.
splitting the bass into one channel and the mid and high range tones into another for ease of adjusting the crossover and equalization of frequencies. The instrument maintains the same moveable gut frets and curved fret board as its acoustic counterpart, which contrasts Goorissen’s student’s earlier prototype which included a flatter, more closely modeled after a guitar fret board with stationary metal frets. In lieu of a sound bar, the Ruby Gamba incorporates a sustain increasing/dampening system that allows the player to adjust bridge contact with the body of the instrument in order to obtain the desired amount of similarity to an acoustic model.\textsuperscript{161} In addition, the instrument’s fingerboard is designed to include the possibilities to play within any of the ranges of all of a standard viol consort’s voices (including contrabass on the 7 string model).

These features are significant in affording contemporary players the kinds of methods of experimentation endorsed by Goorissen. The expectation that a player will shift registers, and perhaps rapidly so, is part of the reasoning behind designing the Ruby Gamba to include the ranges equivalent to that of several consort voices on the same instrument as well as allowing for the possibility that the viol may be played whilst standing as well as whilst sitting. According to the Ruby Gamba owner’s guide (written by Goorissen),

“on the Ruby gamba... you are able to play in high registers with great ease, and jumping up and down with the left hand and therefore it would be much more convenient to move the body where you need it.”\textsuperscript{162}

Here Goorissen is referring to the potential necessity to quickly alter the position of the instrument when rapidly shifting left hand positions to play a passage that moves between extreme registers, (and in fact, Goorissen promotes that Ruby Gamba players incorporate both performing in all registers and utilizing the technique of shifting the instrument’s position to accommodate techniques needed to play any register when

\textsuperscript{161} Goorissen. 2006:4.
\textsuperscript{162} Ibid. 2006:4.
applicable); he states this is a movement that can be accommodated more easily whilst playing in standing position, rather than a traditional seated one.

Additionally, the moveable frets are embraced by Goorissen as being seen in the way they were embraced historically: to be rearranged for various tunings that afford further experimentation. In the instrument's user guide, he promotes adding microtone frets and split frets according to taste stating that “experimentation will show you the way”.163

Some design features are seen to help the instrument retaining the sound and feel of an acoustic model. Goorissen states that “the Ruby gamba has been set up to sound as “acoustical” [sic] as possible”. The sustain/dampening system consists of a rubber ball attached to the bridge that affects the higher strings, primarily. It is intended to:

“...replace the sound post that is used in acoustic bowed instruments. It will therefore allow you to choose between overtone rich sounds or to change the sound to a more acoustic 'gamba'-like sound."164

Goorissen describes the Ruby Gamba as being a half acoustic and half electric instrument. He mentioned to me in conversation that it relies on the acoustic properties of the body and the strings for its sound generation and only uses the electric elements to simply amplify those sounds. This, of course, is generally the case with an amplified acoustic instrument. What is important to Goorissen is that the instrument retains a sense of an acoustic version and amplification allows for alteration of timbres when needed or desired and lets the player perform with other amplified instruments or in larger ensembles without concern for volume-related issues. In particular, Goorissen suggests that players experiment ("Experiment please!" is the exact phrase he uses in the user guide) to find new timbres by varying the mix and equalization of the signals from the two piezo contact pickups,

163 Ibid. 2006:3-4.
potentially through effects units or digital sound processing software. He notes this as one of the keys to obtaining a more traditional acoustic sound or avoiding one, if preferred.

The Ruby Gamba provides a full set of ranges (sopranino to bass), at least when using a capo. Goorissen does not discourage the use of a capo, but points out using a capo would alter the timbre of the instrument slightly. He feels that this is an attractive feature that could expand the usages of the viol and the number of players.

Although similar in some ways to other electric bowed instruments, Goorissen explained to me how he sees his gamba as being different from most electric cellos. Obviously there is the difference in the number of strings and fretted fingerboard. The difference he sees, though, is one of sound reproduction design. He tells me that currently, electric cellos often have an on-board computer adjusting timbre and reproducing elements of the player’s performance electronically. Ruby Gamba, however, draw directly from the acoustic sound of the instrument and have no on-board computer to assist or alter them, therefore he sees them as embracing traditional acoustic aesthetics more so than an electric cello.

Still, Goorissen does not discount or look down upon cellists who play electric instruments. Quite the opposite; he sees the Ruby Gamba as being a secondary instrument more often than a primary one, thus his customers can be guitarists, cellists, or players of some unrelated instrument whom will be buying an electric viol to expand their sonic palette and approach to performing. He also see that if a Ruby Gamba purchase is to be a secondary instrument choice for a player, he must remain aware of both his costs and the cost of one of his finished instruments. At this point, a Ruby Gamba will cost about €4000.00. While this is not expensive in comparison to several bespoke handmade acoustic viols and is comparable to many models of electric cello, it is still a significant figure and

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165 Whilst some electric cellos are much lower in price (NS Design, for instance, lists their electric cellos starting at $1,795 up to $3,790 (£1,130 and £2,386, respectively)), Eric Jensen’s electric cello pricing and Starfish’s electric cello are almost exactly the same price as a Ruby Gamba (€4,000...
may require a more dedicated player to spend such an amount on a new instrument. Goorissen sees this price as still being within the economic range of players he considers serious and/or professional.

The cost of his instruments seem more prohibitive to himself than his customers, though. Goorissen cannot afford to have extra parts for a Ruby Gamba manufactured. He has no “shelf stock” waiting to be sold or even any models to test in a “store front” situation. He tells me that he needs approximately seven to eight pre-orders to make his business profitable enough to manufacture a single electric gamba. Currently he only has three or four pre-orders and is seeking more. Until he gets more funding (in whatever form that may take), Goorissen is marketing the instrument to gain more orders.166

Goorissen’s instrument was designed for one specific purpose: to give viol players the means to embrace historically informed performance on his terms.167 The attributes that he has developed to be the instruments significant features hold value for him in terms of his intentions and sensibilities. Goorissen does not want to remove the possibility of performing Early Music in a way that is seen by many modern players as being conventional or historically accurate. Simultaneously, he wants to encourage players to depart from that modern tradition without concern for the limitations their instrument may incur. By assuring that a player can obtain a relatively similar tone to an acoustic viol and likewise ensure that the possibilities for extended techniques and accommodations for experimental performance in various settings are available, Goorissen has reached his goal. With the Ruby

(£3,439)) and although van der Voort’s website posts no pricing, the maker himself imparted to me at the 2009 Greenwich International Early Music Festival his instruments ranged from €6,500–€12,000 (£5,580–£10,317). http://thinkns.com/prices/instruments.php (accessed 10 September, 2011.)
http://www.starfishdesigns.co.uk/html/4_string_cello.HTM (accessed 10 September, 2011.);
Conversation with van der Voort, 09 November, 2009.

166 See chapter six for more discussion on marketing.
167 As I will point out below, though, once the instrument was embraced by other artists, the style upon it which has been played since its beginnings has evolved strongly in other areas and perhaps less so in an Early Music context.
Gamba design advanced enough to Goorissen’s satisfaction\textsuperscript{168} and a model manufactured for his use, the instrument takes on a “life” of its own (Appadurai. 1986.) and develops itself via the use and acceptance of new players and fans.

\section*{Performing Music on a Ruby Gamba}

The Ruby Gamba Customer Guide provides a very brief list of possibilities of general genres in which Goorissen feels the instrument would work well.\textsuperscript{169} Included on this list is Early Music (even if all the other instruments are acoustic), contemporary composition, jazz, and world music. He noted during a phone interview that he will be updating the guide, adding rock and gothic music to his list.\textsuperscript{170} Goorissen was the first to perform with his own design, once he felt a model was ready to be used publically. He primarily played Early Music and modern composition towards the beginning of his career as a Ruby Gamba player.\textsuperscript{171} With Goorissen now performing on his new instrument, the Ruby Gamba was starting to get exposure; however, Goorissen was not fully satisfied that it was ready to be marketed at this time. He says the Ruby Gamba was (and still is) a work in progress. He told me that at the time, he felt that to truly improve the instrument, there needed to be a handful of proficient players working with a Ruby Gamba in order to develop it further. Goorissen stated, “...in

\textsuperscript{168} I say this based on what Goorissen told in conversation, but these are my words, not his. \textsuperscript{169} Goorissen. 2006:5. \textsuperscript{170} Phone conversation with Goorissen. 09 May, 2011. \textsuperscript{171} More recently, Goorissen also performs improvised music and 19\textsuperscript{th} Century works adapted from cello pieces. The design of the Ruby Gamba between 2006 and 2011 has evolved somewhat, mostly being tweaked by Goorissen as his performance styles have broadened, but according to him, the basic model is still the same as the second model he made in collaboration with van der Voort. Phone conversation with Goorissen. 09 May, 2011.
the world of viola de gamba, there are no “Jimi Hendrixes” to push the instrument to its limits.”  

To face this challenge, Goorissen has addressed a broader demographic of players in hopes of extending the range of performance settings and techniques associated with the Ruby Gamba. Following his own list of genres, Goorissen sought players in other scenes to play a Ruby Gamba. He introduced his electric viol to gamba player/violist Jay Elfenbein in 2004 who commissioned one immediately. Goorissen made a bespoke instrument for him (the only instrument painted yellow, by request) and later officially endorsed Elfenbein, giving him the instrument to make him the Ruby Gamba flagship player. Elfenbein claims that “the Ruby electric gamba [has] opened a world of possibilities for me” and he has recorded many jazz, modern compositions, and Early music releases with his Ruby Gamba as well as performed in high profile settings such as supporting the Cirque du Soleil in 2008 to 2010.

Since Elfenbein has been performing publically with a Ruby Gamba, Goorissen has introduced and sold his viols to more players, and as desired, to players of various styles. If the music submitted by patrons and posted on the Ruby Gamba website is any indication, a majority of the performers purchasing and using Ruby Gambas are not Early Music performers. The audio section of the Ruby Instruments webpage features seven tracks, only one of which includes a small segment of a Renaissance work within a medley of samples. The other tracks posted are recordings of jazz, improvised music, or avant garde modern compositions. Perhaps this demonstrates that Goorissen’s interest in experimentation and improvisation is more readily embraced by players of genres other than Early Music styles.

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172 Ibid. 09 May, 2011.
Goorissen claims that performers whom have purchased a Ruby Gamba to date include Early Music performers as well as folk music players, jazz musicians, concert bowed string players of various types and, typically, Goorissen’s patrons play multiple styles of music. For example, at least one of his customers who studied and performs Early Music, Michael Popp, also plays neo-Medievalist Gothic rock.

![Image: Jay Elfenbein playing his bespoke yellow Ruby Gamba](image)

**Figure 29: Jay Elfenbein playing his bespoke yellow Ruby Gamba**

**Electric Viola de Gamba and the Neo-Medievalist Gothic Music Scene**

Michael Popp contacted Goorissen in 2006 to have a Ruby Gamba built for him. Popp’s main two projects, QNTAL and Estampie, are both neo-Medievalist Gothic bands. Popp studied Early bowed string performance at the Mozarteum in Salzburg, Germany with
Early Music and cello teacher Nikolaus Harnoncourt. In his projects, that perform what he calls “Medieval electro music”, he also plays keyboards, guitar, electric bass, lute, and several bowed string instruments, including a Ruby Gamba. Typically, with these main two bands, he performs either modern Goth-influenced renditions of Medieval material or original compositions that make use of Medieval style melodic content and instruments. Popp also regularly performs various Early Music concerts and is well versed in using acoustic period instruments as well as modern electric ones.\textsuperscript{175} Estampie is primarily acoustic whilst QNTAL is more of a gothic rock band, but both bands incorporate electric and/or high volume instruments, which would render an acoustic viol too quiet to be effective without amplification of some sort. Popp initially considered purchasing an electric cello, but preferred the idea of an electric viol. He looked into using a few acoustic models that incorporated a single bridge or body pickup, but was not pleased with the overall sound or volume they provided.\textsuperscript{176} Popp heard about the Ruby Gamba through other performers and contacted Goorissen to commission one. Popp saw the Ruby Gamba as a perfect solution to this issue that would also afford him new performance possibilities.

Popp cites the versatility of the Ruby Gamba as being one of its most attractive features for him. He claims there is a wide range of instruments it can feasibly “replace” when on tour, including the violin, acoustic or electric guitar, acoustic or electric cello, or any of the viol family. He also tells me he can use plucking, bowing or strumming techniques on it and produce a variety of sounds he finds aesthetically functional and of high quality.

Popp manifestly likes the Ruby Gamba, but has a few reservations as well. He mentioned that the electronics on the instrument were “good, but could be louder”. Popp

\textsuperscript{175} For example, whilst having a phone discussion with Popp, 07 September, 2011, he informed me he was travelling to France to play a short series of Early Music consort performances and then he was headed to the Netherlands to accompany a theatrical production with his Ruby Gamba performing new compositions written for the instrument.

\textsuperscript{176} Popp did not recall the exact makes or models he tested, but only that they were hollow body instruments with a pickup added to them, not an instrument designed to primarily use the electronics onboard. Phone conversation with Popp. 07 September, 2011.
felt the pickups are excellent for performing in lower volume settings or with primarily
acoustic instruments, but competition to be heard clearly could be challenging when
performing with louder or all electric instruments.

In addition, Popp felt the instrument, especially the specially made stand, is not as
sturdy as it perhaps it should be, in particular as compared to other electric instruments with
which he tours. To give me an example of the lack of sturdiness, Popp recounted that after a
sound check before QNTAL performed on an outdoor main stage at a large festival, a strong
wind blew his Ruby Gamba off of its stand and broke the instrument in half. Goorissen fixed
the broken Ruby Gamba and replaced it with another, new instrument, but Popp is still
concerned with the instruments’ structural integrity. He suggested that potentially because
of Goorissen’s background as an Early Music performer, who most likely was used to less
strenuous concert settings, he was not fully aware of the needs of a touring rock musician
and the rigors an instrument in that situation may endure. Still, Popp made a point of
emphasizing his approval of Goorissen’s design, telling me that he felt the Ruby Gamba was
one of his best instruments and he would not tour without it if possible.\textsuperscript{177}

QNTAL and Estampie have gained sizeable recognition in the neo-Medievalist Gothic
music scene. The bands perform in 1000+ person seating venues typically, tour at least
annually, and often play a main stage weekend performance at the larger annual Gothic
music festivals such as Wave Gothik Treffen, M’era Luna, and Whitby Gothic Weekend. As a
result of his project’s popularity, Popp’s usage of his electric viol has now become significant
to Goorissen. Goorissen comments that he thinks Popp uses his Ruby Gamba well,
presenting innovative and refreshing material on it.\textsuperscript{178} He expressed an appreciation for the
bands’ musical styles, feeling that Popp took to heart Goorissen’s suggestion to explore with
the instrument whilst attempting to maintain a strong connection with the instrument’s
Early Music roots. Furthermore, Goorissen also claims that as a result of his musical

\textsuperscript{177} Phone conversation with Popp. 07 September, 2011.
\textsuperscript{178} Phone interview with Goorissen. 9 May, 2011.
direction and high profile projects, Popp draws attention to Ruby Gamba within the neo-Medievalist Gothic music scene.

Figure 30: Michael Popp performing on his Ruby gamba with Estampie.

I am personally an example of this. I attended the 2007 Greenwich International Early Music Festival specifically because I wanted to see what electric Early Music instruments I might find there. I had seen a large amount of footage of Popp's performances and I was already very familiar with his two main bands at the time. I was thrilled to be able to take a close look at a Ruby Gamba when I found the van der Voort/Ruby Gamba booth in the back of the exhibition hall. I happened to be wearing a QNTAL shirt that day, and this sparked an extended discussion about the benefit of electric viols in modern Early Music presentation and related styles with the man at the booth, who turned out to be Goorissen himself. During my time at his booth, another attendee asked to test out the Ruby Gamba on display. Not only did I have the opportunity to hear the instrument live, I also was privy
to the conversation this potential patron had with Goorissen about the design. Interestingly, he was an Early Music performer and classical cellist, but had heard of the Ruby Gamba through the music of Michael Popp as well.

Goorissen’s booth at the festival was an interesting arena in which the maker-instrument-player network could be seen in operation. All three actors were giving, taking, and drawing from each other to reveal conduits of interaction that manifestly shaped some of the ways in which their future actions and reactions were to evolve. Popp, a player and community member of both the Early Music scene and the neo-Medievalist Gothic scene, had indirectly driven traffic to Goorissen through simply performing on Goorissen’s instrument in the styles he chooses to play. In turn, other musicians from both the Early Music scene and the Goth scene have responded to Popp’s choice of instrument and the expressivity of his playing (for fandom and musical interest rarely lack subjectivity), following their curiosity surrounding such a high profile performer and the instrument he has elected to play. Goorissen, here, both stands as an authority figure who can divulge specific information about the mysterious instrument’s construction and performance possibilities and also as a researcher, collecting marketing data and potential design improvements through his interactions with the booth’s visitors.

Economics, performance techniques, stylistic aesthetics, and direct and indirect customer dialectics come into play. Goorissen, of course, is trying to sell his wares. Evaluating the spending willingness and capabilities of the potential patrons is juxtaposed against the costs of not only his instruments manufacture, but travel expenses, booth hire costs, and perhaps something which he was not expecting. There seemed to be a shift in demographics for which Goorissen was not prepared. As I stood at his booth (both that day and again, for a time, over the next two days), only once did I witness one of van der Voort’s acoustic models, also on display there, tested or discussed by passing festival goers. The booth was largely ignored by Early Music enthusiasts and when one of them did venture into
the booth, it was to gain a better look at the oddities on display. The main interest seemed to be from players looking to branch out into performing on an electric instrument or rock/jazz players seeking another electric instrument different from their main standard instrument. Part of the attraction for some musicians is the uniqueness of the instrument. Visually, the Ruby Gamba is striking and it stands out from the period acoustic instruments, drawing attention, good or bad, from most parties. A musician seeking to explore sonic capabilities most likely is not put off by the attention received whilst performing with an unusually shaped instrument, and more likely it is this very factor that adds to their status as an experimental musician. At one time, the same thing may have been said about Early Music instruments, but perhaps in the early 21st Century, Early Music instruments have become commonplace to the point of losing some of their avant garde notoriety and the newness of the Ruby Gamba has inadvertently taken their place?

I cannot say if Goorissen was pleased or not with this shift in interest, but despite the fact that a majority of passers-by apparently considered the unusual instruments mere curiosities, a new demographic surfaced, pushing Goorissen into a decision on how he may want to market his Ruby Gamba in the future. The most striking aspect of this development, perhaps, is that both Goorissen and Popp are highly skilled and noted Early Music performers, each presenting a selection of period pieces and historically informed presentations (with and without the use of a Ruby Gamba), yet the booth (and, as we will

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179 Not only did Goorissen and van der Voort have a Ruby Gamba on display next to a handful of van der Voort’s historical replicas of acoustic viols, there was also a prototype of an acoustic viol made from carbon fibre on display. Visually, it looked the same as any other six stringed bass viol with the striking exception that it was a variegated bright “sea foam” green. I was told the instrument was very heavy and needed to be redesigned. I have not heard anything about it since then from Goorissen or van de Voort nor can I find any information about it online, therefore I assume the model was not pursued and has never been manufactured.

180 I would argue, too, that the incorporation of Early Music instruments into the gothic music scene holds a similar mentality, projecting a status of being cutting edge through a return to the past in some sense. Spooner (2006), Kilpatrick (2004), Hodkinson (2002), and many essays in the edited volume of Spooner and McEvoy (2007) discuss this in various contexts, among others.
see, below) drew the attention of players whose interests extended well beyond those of what is typically considered to be somewhat historically accurate Early Music.181

Festival attendees are not the only players familiar with Michael Popp, of course. I have encountered other musicians who know of Goorissen’s Ruby Gamba via Michael Popp as well. After my conversation with Goorissen on 9 May, 2011, I spoke with London-based cellist Oliver Barrett currently in the band Bleeding Heart Narrative. This is not a neo-Medievalist Goth band, but it does have heavy gothic tendencies and I thought that Barrett might have some insight into the use of a cello or bowed Early Music instruments in gothic music performance. Barrett told me, before I got the chance to mention to him anything about my research, that he was looking to test out a Ruby Gamba. I explained to him that I was working with Goorissen on my project and he immediately asked if I could arrange a meeting with the Ruby Gamba representative and asked if I had ever heard of QNTAL.182

Another instance involved Joanna Quail, former cellist of SonVer, with whom I have recently recorded a series of duets in a classical-influenced gothic idiom. I was discussing our upcoming participation in the 2012 Wave Gothik Treffen, the largest annual gothic music event that takes place in Leipzig, Germany each summer,183 to confirm our instrumentation for the trip. We both play a number of instruments and travelling abroad requires a reduction of equipment to be addressed.184 When I mentioned Goorissen’s Ruby Gamba, she

181 Obviously, with the description above regarding Goorissen’s concepts and value system surrounding historical accuracy, this does not apply to everyone. However, I feel I can safely suggest that a majority of festival goers regard historically informed Early Music performance as primarily acoustic in character.

182 Phone conversation with Oliver Barrett. 11 May, 2011.

183 See chapters two and six for more discussion of this festival.

184 Since the conversation cited in this discussion, I have spoken again with Quail about the Ruby Gamba, and her take on it is similar to Popp’s in that she sees it as being travel worthy, even if she may need to be wary of the stand’s sturdiness, and that it could either function as a back-up instrument or replace her current electric cello. Typically, Quail travels with an acoustic cello as a back-up (for concerts in which she primarily plays electric cello) and simply places a contact pickup on the bridge (if using effects) or clips a small condenser mic to the bridge (when performing without effects). The Ruby Gamba, to her, seemed like a much better option in terms of matching the cello’s sounds when needed, supplying a high enough volume to match other loud and amplified instruments, and offer a travel-worthy instrument that potentially is less “temperamental” than her acoustic cello. Phone conversation with Quail, 10 September, 2011.
asked if that was the instrument that Michael Popp played. She could not even remember the names of his projects, but only that he played an electric viola de gamba. Quail is currently in the process of arranging to test one of Goorissen’s instruments with the intent of pre-ordering a six string model.185

Customization and Patron Requests

Goorissen is regularly approached by interested parties or commissioners who make requests concerning the construction of the instrument. Typically, according to Goorissen, potential patrons ask to make minor changes in hardware location, specific finishes or painting schemes, or occasionally ask for a major alteration, such as new body shape or alternative electronics. Goorissen tells me that he almost always refuses any changes to his design. This reaction is quite different from the ways David Roman Drums handles such requests (see chapter three) and, as will be discussed, it is mostly different from responses to them by bagpipe maker Julian Goodacre (see chapter five). Both of these makers employ different methods of production as well as varying levels of customer interactions and relations which affords them the opportunity and option to adjust construction of their wares to cater to the patron’s requests, so long as these fall within a certain acceptability of the maker’s sense of integrity and aesthetics. Goorissen, however, has set up a production situation that renders his reasoning behind denying customers demands understandable. The rarity of his honouring alteration requests is based on the fact that Goorissen no longer builds the instruments by hand or by himself.

When designing the Ruby Gamba, Goorissen and van der Voort invested large amounts of capital into the initial instruments.186 Once Goorissen was satisfied with the resultant product, he sourced out the building of the components to five manufacturers. Goorissen now orders the parts for his Ruby Gamba, timing them appropriately, so that he

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185 Conversation with Joanna Quail. 30 May, 2011.
186 These are his exact words. He did not divulge any exact amounts. Phone conversation with Goorissen. 09 May, 2011.
spreads out his costs over time, and gets the parts for each instrument simultaneously. For instance, the body is ordered in Ash, Maple, or Mahogany and will take several months to be prepared. Hardware for the Ruby Gamba on the other hand, may only take a few days to be manufactured and may arrive to his workshop within two to three weeks. Once he has all the parts, his constructs the electric viol, but currently does very little other than assembling and testing the instrument.

Goorissen does allow customers some agency with cosmetic design decisions. He tells me that on occasion he will make slight changes or combine parts in new ways. He allows the customer to choose wood types, select from three finishes, order a 5, 6, or 7 string instrument, and select the colour of the hardware (all from lists of available options provided by Goorissen). As Goorissen has no show room in which to display models or options, these decisions are all made online, using pictures and written descriptions for the cosmetic possibilities.

Interested potential patrons typically will want to spend some time with a Ruby Gamba before making a final decision. The lack of a show room has lead Goorissen to create a sort of network of players who act as agents for him. Most customers to whom he has sold a Ruby Gamba are extended an offer from Goorissen to exchange services and an unspoken kickback in the form equipment, repairs, or cash from Ruby Instruments if they allow potential buyers to play their instrument and act as a representative for the company. Through this offer, Goorissen has turned existing Ruby Gamba owners willing to participate into his personal Ruby Gamba network. Elfenbein in New York City, Popp in Berlin, and other players in Los Angeles, London, and Brussels are among members of his current group of owners involved. This network affords Goorissen a means to give potential buyers some hands on experience, the opportunity for direct testimonials from other players, and a multitude of “store branches” located in various countries. Goorissen has set up his company so that he effectively has very little in-person contact with customers, but can still
maintain a functional level of knowledge of the player’s interests and activities through online and phone communication.

With the observation of this network of representatives, yet another aspect of the maker-instrument-player network is revealed. Here we have a maker literally creating a system through which he gains direct information from patrons, generates new patrons, and, as potential patrons contact him, Goorissen can immediately inject them directly into his existing network on some level. It provides him with targeted niche marketing, complete with player to player discussions on instrument quality and performance techniques, and increases the chance of ramping up annual revenue without expending funds beyond what he would normally spend through standard repair jobs, internet communication costs, and other sale necessities. In fact, Goorissen potentially saves tremendous amounts of money in terms of not hosting a store front, directly hiring sales persons, or giving away instruments to entice sponsorship-like support from the musicians involved.

The players benefit as well, through increasing their own network of performers and playing possibilities, learning and sharing techniques, extending the workmanship guarantee of the instrument, and potentially even small tangible monetary gains all for just a few moments of their time spent doing something they most likely find pleasurable. All this is achieved through the instrument itself. Players want to buy, learn about, or show off their instrument and Goorissen is supporting his vocation as well as promoting his ideologies concerning historical accuracy, Early Music presentation (where applicable), and experimentation by way of the Ruby Gamba. The network also propels the instrument’s “life” through various channels and possibly increases the rapidity of the rate of change through which the instrument evolves in the associated genres performed by the owners within Goorissen’s expanding network.
The Next Generation of Ruby Gamba

Since Popp has become the second (unofficially) endorsed high profile musician to perform with a Ruby Gamba, the interest amongst bowed string players in a rock or gothic contexts has increased noticeably. Michael Popp is aware of his status as one of the main pioneer players performing with a Ruby Gamba. He commented to me that he felt he gained the electric viol a large amount of interest, at least within the gothic music scene and with Early Music performers who also delved into performing genres of music in which electric instruments are common and encouraged, such as jazz and rock idioms. To clarify the amount of interest, since Goorissen does not produce a large number of instruments per year, the number of players considering commissioning a Ruby Gamba does not need to exceed more than a handful to be significant. What makes the increase in interest notable in the context of this dissertation is that Goorissen claims that both the majority of his commissions and over 50% of the performers who contact him for more information are neo-Medievalist Gothic performers.

In light of this, Goorissen has designed a model geared towards the neo-Medievalist Gothic market. It consists of a mahogany body and neck lacquered black with an ebony fret board, silver hardware, and red trim and a red Celtic style cross on the pick guard (which is also a new addition, from what I understand; see discussion below). Sonically, the new model only embraces a few changes, but ones that make the new instrument practical for a neo-Medievalist Gothic player. The Gothic model will only be available in the seven string version because the interest Goorissen has received suggests that potential buyers may prefer the lower range on many occasions. In addition Goorissen may decide to incorporate an alternative set of transducer pickups with which he is currently experimenting. In a

187 Phone interview with Goorissen. 9 May, 2011.
188 Phone conversation with Popp. 7 September, 2011.
discussion on his blog about the transducers, he claims “you will be able to blend in with modern acoustic instruments and also with electric ones.”

Equally, the new model caters to the visual aesthetics of the new target demographic. The choice to use a black finish can be argued as being a conservative colour, but Goorissen specifically calls this model a gothic rock model, so I infer the decision was deliberate in attracting players of gothic genres, specifically ones who are fans of Michael Popp. It evokes more of a heavy metal or gothic rock attitude with its red trim and Celtic cross, but nonetheless, again, this is a visual aesthetic directed towards players who may potentially follow in Popp’s musical footsteps. The decision to include a pick guard, regardless of its colours or decorations, also presents the notion that Goorissen is promoting or expecting the instrument to be played with a plectrum as well as plucked or bowed. This may be indicative of Goorissen’s desire for further experimentation, a reflection of the requested presented by some of the neo-Medievalist Gothic players during commission inquiries, an attempt to simply align the Ruby Gamba with electric guitars for an even wider patron base to be generated, or a combination of these and more.

Whichever it may be, the choice to add a pick guard and one that places itself (and the entire instrument) in a modern gothic rock setting is a calculated one. It suggests that Goorissen’s Ruby Gamba has moved from primarily being an enhanced Early Music instrument to one with a much broader appeal and audience, reflecting both its performance history and its connection with a high profile player. Working backwards, the players’ feedback and interest in Goorissen’s creation have informed him how to approach the next step of the Ruby Gamba’s development. Both conduits of interaction have

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190 Perhaps I should say here, played more regularly with a plectrum, as Goorissen claims that he expects that already in the models without a pick guard. On the Ruby Gamba website there is a picture (of Goorissen) demonstrating the use of a plectrum, but it is high on the fingerboard and not lower down where the new model’s pick guard will be located. Still, the use of a plectrum cannot be discounted as being non-existent; however, I argue that in this instance, the pick guard indicates a change in performance techniques with specific recently introduced expectations.
manifested visually in the electric viol via alterations designed to further balance acceptance outlined by the scene’s sensibilities and the maker’s concepts of integrity and purpose.

How much has Goorissen’s purpose changed, then, if it has at all? Goorissen still promotes the use of Ruby Gamba in Early Music settings, but at no point does he discuss how the models’ new electronics or wood choice will work in a historical setting. Goorissen clearly expects this model to be used in a Gothic rock setting for the most, but sees it as being flexible enough to merge well in an otherwise acoustic performance, in which the accompaniment consists of acoustic instruments of a modern design (meaning instruments not attempting to recreate a historically accurate timbre).\textsuperscript{191} The evolution of the instrument from its conception to the latest model has taken a slight turn away from the expectation of performing Early Music in a more conventional sense and moved more towards embracing a specific related style in part brought about through the experimentation Goorissen supports alongside marketing opportunities (partially discussed further in chapter six). This support is well voiced, not only through his interviews with me, but explicitly through the construction of his most recent electric viol. There are, of course, economic considerations which inform some of Goorissen’s decisions. Basic principles of demand warranting the generation of supply has certainly entered the maker-instrument-player arena, but Goorissen’s intentions are clear and his new Ruby Gamba model reflects not only his desire to create a successful business, but also to offer support for those players who share Goorissen’s sensibilities.\textsuperscript{192}

The Ruby Gamba might be seen as an example of Goorissen embracing what Barrett calls personal authenticity (2005: 124). Barrett sees personal authenticity as being a mixture of Kivy’s and Taruskin’s notion of the term; the combination of a demonstration of style and

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{191} Skype conversation 07 May, 2011.
\textsuperscript{192} Goorissen does not seem to have made public his new model or design as of the writing of this thesis. I mentioned the gothic rock model to Michael Popp in a phone conversation on 7 September, 2011, and he had not heard of it. His reaction was extremely positive, and he instantly reacted by stating he would probably have one commissioned for him. He also mused that perhaps it was his past discussions with Goorissen that lead to some of the design features and the notion to gear this new model to performers of styles of music similar to his.
\end{footnotesize}
originality within the genre as well as possessing a sense of place within a tradition. Goorissen has established that, for him, at least, the introduction of an electric viol affords a means for players to explore Early Music presentation via experimentation. He has also positioned himself as a leader in promoting his sensibilities on Early Music performance by designing, marketing, performing on, promoting, and encouraging others to perform on his instrument.

The reverse to this might also be seen as true. Once created, marketed, incorporated, and in the process of forging its own path, the instrument begins to take up a position of acceptance and aesthetic value within the neo-Medievalist Gothic music scene. In her discussion of gothic art aesthetics, Kilpatrick (2004: 223-231.) discusses how the general gothic mentality bridges an aesthetic that evokes the past and embraces the future simultaneously. This can also be applied to fashion (Hodkinson. 2002:46), music, and a combination that is manifested as a musical instrument, which possesses both iconic and sonic traits of older historic periods and modern-day cutting-edge rebellious style. Goorissen’s Ruby Gamba can easily be described as supporting this sensibility. The instrument’s innovative design and the ways in which it encourages experimental performance is paired with an expectation of historical performance form bonds between builder and the performer in the maker-instrument-player network that open dialectic pathways and inspiration for stylistic, aesthetic, and musical development which becomes inherent in the instrument’s physicality and the social representations for which it stands.

The latest gothic rock model of the Ruby Gamba is currently in its design stages and as of yet, no prototype has been completed, but obviously Goorissen has plans to manufacture and market this model and potentially develop it further. Whether or not he will gradually move farther away from or begin a return to the instrument’s viola de gamba roots is unclear, but Goorissen’s role in the maker-instrument-player network is a strong and
influential one that evolves in significance along with that of the neo-Medievalist Gothic performers who play it and that of the Ruby Gamba itself.
Chapter Five  
Communicating from the Outskirts:  
Bagpipe Maker Julian Goodacre and Remote Dialectic Influences

In the previous two chapters, I have shown the direct interactions between makers and the Neo-Medievalist Gothic community. Awareness and engagement of this community on the part of these makers has been a catalyst for alterations and arguments for maintaining traditional construction elements within their instruments. The level of awareness and engagement differed between the two makers, but both had more than a passing knowledge of the scene whilst developing their instruments. What, then, would be the implications for a network when a maker is largely unaware of the Neo-Medievalist Gothic scene and of the scene’s players potentially using this maker’s instruments? Would exchanges between maker and performer be reflected in the construction of the instrument if the direct contact level was at a minimum? In this chapter, I address this situation and show that in some cases, despite the smaller degree of immediate interaction, the instrument maintains a function as conduit between the maker and player; each possessing influence over the other (to varying degrees).

Bagpipes and the Neo-Medievalist Gothic Scene

One of the most iconic instruments in Neo-Medievalist Gothic music is the bagpipes. I do not refer to the historical importance of bagpipes in the Middle Ages, here. Instead, I am referring to historical modern conceptions found within the Neo-Medievalist Gothic community. Whilst many instructional and taxonomic references to the instrumentation of the Middle Ages seems to be evenly focused on strings, percussion, and various wind instruments\(^\text{193}\) (i.e. Lord. 2008, Montagu. 1976, Duffin. 2000), this does not match the

\(^{193}\) McGee’s edited collection of essays, *Instruments and Their Music in the Middle Ages* (2009), barely mentions bagpipes. In some respects this is not surprising as early bagpipe music was rarely notated - oral modes of transmission dominating - and the instrument was rarely associated with musicians of high status.
significance of the bagpipes within the Early Music movement of the late 20th Century, which, in part, was informed by extensive iconographic evidence suggesting a similar historical significance. As discussed above (see chapter two), the Early Music revival and subsequent popular presentations of medieval culture (including music) have had bearing on the aesthetic expectations of the Neo-Medievalist Gothic community, including the presence of bagpipes.

It has been my experience that most bands performing any of the styles within the Neo-Medievalist Gothic genre incorporate a set of pipes of one type or another. Gothic Early Music band Modus Virens, for instance, utilizes up to three sets at a time, typically one or two “great” sets fashioned to play Scottish Highland or German battle tunes occasionally combined or alternated with a smaller set of Galician gaita (Northern Spanish bagpipes) for lower volume songs or passages (accompanied by recorder, voice, and percussion) to present lively versions of Medieval melodies. I “met” one of the band’s pipers, Nayeli Yajaziel Ledezma Garza, online in 2005 after visiting Modus Virens’ MySpace page. I asked her where she bought her instruments and whether or not she had occasion to have them commissioned or altered for her needs. Garza claimed that commissioning an instrument to be built for her was beyond her financial means at the time, but that she had recently purchased a handmade set of Highland Great Pipes online, second hand, built by a maker in the UK named Julian Goodacre.

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194 As far as I am aware, of the 224 bands listed in Appendix I, less than ten perform without bagpipes. Some only incorporate them occasionally; however, 83% have bagpipe players as permanent members.

195 Email correspondence with Garza 15 September, 2011.

196 Garza’s stage name is Die Rattenfaengerin. I find it interesting and somewhat indicative of the subculture’s embracing of gender roles and equality that a mid 20s year old woman from Mexico would choose a “masculine” German name for her performance persona. Hodkinson (2002, most notably p.197), Baddeley (2010) and Spooner (2006) all present excellent discussions of gender roles and values within the Gothic community. An interesting parallel study to expand on these discussions would focus on the perceptions of gender within the Gothic music scene more specifically.

197 See below for details on Garza’s purchase and her experience performing with Goodacre’s pipes.
Garza had never met the maker of her pipes nor had she had the occasion to play them prior to buying them. She purchased them on recommendation from a Spanish bagpipe player who worked in a music shop that sold second hand equipment. It was through this shop in Spain that she purchased her Great Pipes. Garza performed with the Great Pipes for three years before deciding the weight and timbre did not match her current preferred aesthetics. Garza sold her set of Goodacre pipes to buy the Galician set she currently plays.

Distinct interactions and responses are at work in the maker-instrument-player network here. The sensibilities of the maker had been instilled within the instrument and those aesthetics, styles, and expectations commanded notable reactions when faced with the player’s own set of sensibilities. Inherent in the instrument was a particular timbral generation, visual presentation, and performance expectations. Only certain aspects of these traits aligned with the performer’s preferences and desires; the tension created between maker and player via the attributes of the instrument ultimately resulting in a rejection of the instrument.

The characteristics of the instrument outline the constraints and tension (or lack thereof) in the network. Due to the nature of their construction, Great Pipes are higher in volume, heavier and demand greater physical exertion to play than so-called ‘small pipes’. In the case of the Goodacre set, the drones and chanter were stained a dark brown (Garza did not know the type of wood) and the bag was leather that had been dyed green. The Goodacre pipes were a large investment for Garza; costing her €700.00.\textsuperscript{198} She purchased the set because she was seeking to emulate other popular Neo-Medievalist Gothic bands, such as Schelmish and Corvus Corax. Generally, these bands incorporate larger sets of bagpipes both for volume and visual effects. Garza also admitted having a larger set and

\textsuperscript{198} This is far less than a new set of Great Pipes from Goodacre and relatively not that expensive in general, but Garza tells me she had saved money for several months to purchase the bagpipes.
being a woman of small stature made playing a larger set of Great Pipes a type of status symbol at the time. In addition, the dark wood of the pipes and dark green colour of the bag fitted her aesthetics of stage presence. However, once she obtained the bagpipes and began to use them regularly, she found there were inconsistencies between the instrument and her expectations that rendered the set of pipes less desirable.

Despite the status symbol the larger bagpipe set provided for her, the weight of the set was taxing and brought about concerns with fatigue and stamina that affected her performances. The types of reeds in the bagpipes when Garza received them were a cane reed for the chanter and plastic reeds for the drones. She maintained the types of reeds, but later switched to thicker reeds she had made herself, telling me that the timbre of the instrument was not what she expected or thought appropriate for her band. Garza felt she needed a smaller, lighter set with a different timbre as either an alternative to the Great Pipes or as her primary instrument. The characteristics that Goodacre instilled in the pipes were not perceived to be negative, nor did Garza specifically blame the maker or even the instrument for not meeting her aesthetic or pragmatic criteria. However, it was evident that Goodacre’s construction choices were shaped by a different set of aesthetic priorities and pragmatic concerns. This contributed to a manifestation of tension, impacting on the decisions of Garza and the paths each actor in the network followed as a result.
Garza, of course, does not represent the entirety of Neo-Medievalist Gothic bagpipe players. In fact, Garza does not consider herself a Gothic musician per se, but she has been represented as such by the media and music promoters. She told me that her bands adhere fairly closely to generally accepted gothic aesthetics, her sensibilities thus suggesting strong parallel with those of the Neo-Medievalist Gothic community. Her encounter with Goodacre from afar through his Great Pipes may represent a typical reaction of tension and appreciation. According to Garza, Modus Virens never used electric instruments, but did incorporate several traditional instruments from outside an Early Music context, such as a cajón (Peruvian percussion), a bombo leguero (Argentinean drum), a guacharaca (Columbian percussion) and pre-Hispanic Mexican flutes and drums. Investigating Goodacre further

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199 Garza was interviewed for a documentary on the gothic subculture which was broadcast on Mexican national television and her bands are often booked to perform with gothic acts, including gothic music festivals. Email correspondence with Garza. 15 September, 2011.

200 This stresses the tendency for Neo-mediievalist projects to draw upon, and for their sense of aesthetics and accepted timbre palettes to be shaped by, geographic and heritage associations. It is also exemplified by the group Irfan form Bulgaria. It also raise the question of how closely Garza’s preferred aesthetics fit into either a Neo-Medievalist Goth category or a traditional music one?
yields insight into his role in the maker-instrument-player network in this context, albeit as a remote participant.

**Performer as Maker: Establishing Authority** (part 1)

Julian Goodacre resides in Peebles, Scotland where, in addition to the Great Pipes mentioned above, he manufactures a range of bagpipes, including Scottish border pipes, Cornish baritone pipes, and double chanter Welsh pipes.\(^{201}\) He began constructing pipe sets in the late 1970s and to date has produced about 700 full sets.\(^{202}\) Most of his instruments are commissioned, his clientele expanding from personal introductions and word of mouth interest, alongside customers met at festivals and online orders. Goodacre also regularly gives lectures about bagpipes and the craft of making them and performs in concerts of Early and traditional music on his own pipes. Interestingly, none of his commissioners, concert attendees, fans, or patrons at festivals or trade shows are members of the Neo-Medievalist Gothic scene as far as he is aware.

This begs the question, what types of connections might a maker with very remote contact have with the Neo-Medievalist Gothic scene? His instruments have found their way into the community, but do they link the scene with Goodacre? If so, what, if any, communications occur that influence Goodacre and his construction values, priorities and practices? Goodacre is still part of the maker-instrument-player network and thus still has interactions with the community, even if only indirectly through his instruments, and his influence and acceptance is partially generated through authority established by his knowledge of performance and historical reference. These ties, though, can be tenuous and can be altered (positively or negatively) or be broken by any actor in the network,

\(^{201}\) Goodacre lists over a dozen models he regularly makes on his website. [http://www.goodbagpipes.co.uk](http://www.goodbagpipes.co.uk) (accessed 27 February, 2011).

\(^{202}\) This is according to Goodacre’s records showing 695 instruments listed. He claimed that this number may be slightly inaccurate, but that the number of pipes produced was indeed, circa 700.
highlighting the continuously changing relations within the maker-instrument-player network.

A recurrent theme in my discussions with Goodacre was his self-presentation as a player. He characterized himself as a semi-professional performer, or at least serious amateur, who took up work as a bagpipe maker to give himself the means to live comfortably while maintaining plenty of contact with the instrument and pursuing his interest as a player.\footnote{203} He asserted that his knowledge of performance techniques instills within him a sense of authority that influences his concerns for fine tuning the instruments he makes for his customers. During a visit to his workshop in the winter of 2011, I witnessed Goodacre discussing techniques with several of his clients and often offering his views about how an instrument should be built, altered, or repaired based on his performance experience. In a phone conversation with a player who had requested the conversion of one of his drones from D to G and the construction of a new chanter to accommodate this change in key potentials, Goodacre gathered information about the player’s fingering methods. He observed that the fingering used by the customer to produce certain notes could affect his decisions about the drilling of finger holes.\footnote{204} Thinking through the ways in which the owner of the bagpipes may play certain notes exhibited Goodacre’s understanding of performance technique. In addition, the fact that he was able to discuss the matter over the phone, without visuals, highlights how Goodacre was able to envision the playing technique through his extensive experience as a performer in order to make decisions about the alteration of the instrument.\footnote{205}

\footnote{203} Taken from conversations with Goodacre in Nov 2007, July 2008, and January 2011, paraphrased from the most recent discussion.

\footnote{204} For a brief discussion and explanation of Scottish bagpipe fingering methods and choices, see The Highland Bagpipe and Its Music (Cannon. 1988;2002:32-33)

\footnote{205} Goodacre conveyed this to me in a conversation following the phone discussion mentioned above. He stated that some details would be difficult to discern without visual assistance and/or first hand contact, thus he occasionally, as in this case, had to rely on his playing experience to make educated guesses regarding specifics.
Another customer who had commissioned a set of mouth-blown Cornish pipes decided that he would prefer a bellows-blown set instead. The client opted for altering his existing set at a cost of about £250, rather than purchasing a new bellows-blown set for around £1150. To ensure proper ergonomics for comfort and ease of playing when switching the air flow method of the pipe set, Goodacre needed to know where the player would attach the bellows to his body. Unfortunately, since the original pipes had been ordered over the telephone, Goodacre had not met with the customer, nor had ever heard him perform. To compensate for this, Goodacre requested that the customer send him a few photographs of himself playing. From the pictures that arrived in the post, Goodacre was able to estimate a reasonable position for the bellows strap he would have to attach to the new chanter stock and drone bag. In this situation, although not ideal, Goodacre used a visual cue alongside his knowledge as a performer to fine tune his decisions on how to adapt the Cornish pipes for a specific player. Goodacre explained to me that if he had not received pictures of the owner playing, he would have estimated based on the way he plays himself.\footnote{206}

\footnote{206} Taken from a conversation with Goodacre at his home in Peebles, Scotland, January 2011. Goodacre had just mentioned to me the problems associated with guessing the owner’s performance stance and general size, having not met the owner nor having seen him play. At that moment the doorbell rang announcing the arrival of the post, in which Goodacre received the photographs of the owner playing. I was witness to the issues surrounding the decisions before and after Goodacre had the information he desired, and the ways in which his knowledge played significant, and different, roles before and after seeing the pictures. Both situations, however, still allowed Goodacre to exercise his knowledge of performance techniques in the decision making process related to the instrument’s alteration.
A third instance of Goodacre drawing from performance technique information occurred during a visit from Richard Potter, a local piper who had some alteration requests and wanted to commission a new chanter. There were many factors involved in arranging to complete Potter’s requests, one of which was adjusting the drones on his pipes and preparing to have a fourth drone added. Goodacre took a great deal of time (over tea and cake brought to the workshop by Potter) to get the existing three drones set up correctly. Once they were sounding to Goodacre’s satisfaction, he asked Potter to play for him. Immediately, Goodacre suggested that Potter play with less pressure on the bag to give the drone reeds “room to breathe”. He observed that not all pipes were the same and that he needed to practice squeezing the bag more gently to produce lower air pressure, cautioning
Potter not to play a smaller Borderland set as if they were a larger Highland Great Pipe set. From here, the conversation turned to the alterations Goodacre would be making and to the new stock needed for the extra drone pipe, much of the discussion linking Potter’s techniques to the ways in which the new pipe parts would be finalized. This example vividly demonstrates how Goodacre’s personal playing techniques and aesthetic preferences influenced not only his decisions in terms of bagpipe alterations and general construction, but possibly also - through Goodacre’s instruction and inquiries - the playing techniques of his customers. All three situations above reflect how Goodacre’s performance-based knowledge impacts on his work as a bagpipe maker, tending to assert his own performance values rather than attempt to isolate the customer’s technique and adjust to their style. This might suggest that he considers his techniques to be preferable or possibly ‘more correct’. Goodacre has established, at least for himself, an authority on performing techniques that he brings to interactions with some of his customers, an authority which is in turn realized and established through his construction decisions.

Julian Goodacre is aware of his influence in some cases, too. When he asked for photographs from the owner of the Cornish pipes, he voiced a concern that simply by suggesting there were different ways to hold the instrument, the player may become so conscious of his technique that he would alter it or not achieve his own natural playing position whilst the pictures were being taken. He debated whether or not to ask for the pictures in case this had a bearing on the player’s performance in terms of timbre, efficiency, or style. He also observed to Richard Potter that his advice to play with less force, might (and probably would) lead to a change in overall sound. Goodacre did not assert that the timbre produced using his suggested technique was better or worse than any other timbre in so many words. Nonetheless, their conversation, and in many other discussions with him on the subject before and since, Goodacre expressed the opinion that there were “acceptable sounds and undesirable sounds”, and that he hoped the latter would be avoided on
instruments of his making. This again can serve to establish a level of authority on the subject, at least for Goodacre, which apparently also impacts on some of his patrons, given that they readily accepted his suggested playing techniques or construction designs based on his performance knowledge.

**Goodacre’s Performance Techniques and Styles and the Neo-Medievalist Gothic Performer**

All of the performers with whom Goodacre has interactions mentioned above are not Neo-Medievalist Gothic performers, at least as far as Goodacre was aware. They were either traditional folk music performers or, in the case of the Cornish pipe player, their preferred genres unknown. Goodacre professed more knowledge about ‘traditional’ (or folk music) playing than other styles. This is not to say, however, that he does not have some knowledge of Neo-Medievalist Gothic music.

In part, this knowledge derives from my enquiries for this study. When I first met Goodacre in November, 2007 at the Greenwich International Early Music Festival, we had a chat about how many of his patrons were potentially Neo-Medievalist Gothic players (knowing that Nayeli Garza owned a set of his pipes at the time, but also understanding he had not sold them to her directly). He was only very vaguely familiar with the genre and had no exposure to specific bands, recordings, or performances at the time. When we met again the following summer at the 2008 St. Chartier Musical Instrument Maker’s Festival in France, I pointed out some of the Neo-Medievalist Gothic attendees to Goodacre and apparently he recognized them by sight, not realising they were Gothic performers.²⁰⁷ He has since researched some of the bands online, such as Corvus Corax, and requested that I send him more information and links to sound files of other Neo-Medievalist Goth bands. The dynamics of Goodacre’s musical interests and performance knowledge are not the issue

²⁰⁷ Given these performer’s choices of attire, I was slightly surprised by this. Luc Abergast and members of Poetica Magica sported black leather modern-Medieval crossover clothing that afforded full viewing of their gothic tattoos and piercings that did not particularly match the wardrobe of other festival goers. However, I readily concede that if one is not familiar with Gothic fashion, how would he discern a member of the Gothic community?
here: an individual involved so closely with his passion and vocation will rarely stagnate, gathering and retaining knowledge wherever it presents itself. What is in question, rather, is how Goodacre’s various performance techniques and styles affect Neo-Medievalist Gothic performers, in particular in their potential as patrons.

Whether or not the techniques used by Neo-Medievalist Gothic performers are similar to traditional folk performers, I cannot say, nor can I suggest how much Goodacre is influenced by what he now knows about Neo-Medievalist Gothic performance. However, there are certain generalizations as regards technique that he mentioned during my visit to Scotland in January 2011 which Goodacre noted as ones a maker would find interesting. He pointed out that most Gothic performers prefer to stand\textsuperscript{208} and he compared that to the difference in posture he addressed when considering altering the Cornish pipe set from blown to bellows driven. He also noticed that Corvus Corax typically wear lavish outfits when performing live, suggesting that their costumes may need to be altered depending on the type of pipe they choose to play (or vice versa: their choice of pipes may depend on clothing considerations) to maintain the freedom of movement and playing posture necessary to perform their songs.

\textsuperscript{208} However, there is considerable variety: certain performers prefer to sit while others favour higher levels of mobility over standing still. Goodacre did not mention anything other than players who prefer to stand, referring to bands that played genres more akin to rock styles, exhibiting high energy presentations during their live concerts.
Figure 33: Corvus Corax performing with a range of pipes wearing garments typical of their performance presentations.

Goodacre’s acknowledgement of these traits suggests perhaps that there is a level of understanding that may influence his construction decisions, especially if he knowingly was commissioned by a Neo-Medievalist Gothic performer to build a set of pipes specifically for use in such a context. As discussed below, however, Goodacre to date has not had any Neo-Medievalist Gothic performers commissioning bagpipes from him. Therefore, if any influence of what he perceives as a typical Neo-Medievalist Gothic style manifests itself in his bagpipes at this time, it is entirely through his expectations of the instrument’s potential use. Do these influences exist? Or are there particular standardised performance techniques, practices and forms of knowledge that both Goodacre and Neo-Medievalist Gothic performers share, acquired and transmitted through wider, albeit specialised, networks of interaction? If so, are they apparent to Goodacre, his commissioners, or second-hand buyers who may or may not be familiar with Goodacre’s work? Looking more closely at direct customer interactions and second-hand purchases of his bagpipes helps uncover more information.

Commissioning Bagpipes

Up until 2009, all of Goodacre’s orders were commissions. During my visit to his workshop in the winter of 2011, I was given the privilege of viewing his records on sales and
commissions. As we went through his books, Goodacre was able to tell me the performance background of almost all of his patrons, informing me of their general proficiency level (in his opinion), if they played more or less professionally, and something about the styles of music they tended to play when the pipes were ordered. The commissions involved differing levels of customer input, from simple style choices to major reconstructions. Only with Godacre’s lowest cost and, in his words, the most easily obtained and played set of bagpipes does Goodacre simply makes pipes as he desires and then ships them to the customer. He claims that giving customers any level of choice at that level is detrimental to the possibility of making a profit given the amount of time necessary to build these sets that Goodacre explained are less involved to make.

Typically, for all other sets of bagpipes Goodacre makes, he offers the patron a choice of wood, colour schemes (if possible and appropriate), blowing preference if possible, and then he will consider altering a design to fit the needs and abilities of the performer. He prides himself on often being able to show the customer pictures of the living tree or the remains of the tree from which the wood was or will be taken and dried to make their instrument. Goodacre likes customers to visit his workshop and see the attention to details which he feels will impress and excite them as regards to the quality of the instrument they have ordered. Many customers, though, do not visit his workplace, according to Goodacre. Instead he primarily interacts with his customers initially at Early Music or instrument builder festivals or, nowadays, via the internet. From there, he gains an idea of their playing style and ability and further communicates with them via phone and email conversations until he is satisfied with the final direction the construction of the bagpipes will take. General and typical choices are mapped out on his website and are easily

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209 Note that bagpipes ordered does not mean bagpipes produced. A discussion on turn-around time, number of pipes completed per year, and the general production methods employed follows in the Productivity section below.
210 Conversation with Goodacre, January 2011.
211 Ibid. January 2011.
ordered and implemented. It is requests from more advanced players that become more complex for Goodacre and here is where he states that most of his decision making comes into play.

When a potential patron approaches Goodacre about a specific alteration or inclusion, he observed to me, his immediate reaction is to reject the request. His reasoning for this is that he has undergone extensive trial and error testing on various models, thus his models have settled into a high quality of construction and design. He also feels that in general it may not be worth the economic loss of experimenting further to satisfy one customer over one alteration aspect. However, he does make exceptions and he addresses the issue in various ways. Goodacre readily admits that each instrument is always unique and made differently from previous ones, even if ever so slightly. Thus, he must remain aware of the methods and designs he employs to ensure the highest quality instrument for the situation and player in question.

Goodacre will out right refuse to take on alteration requests if he feels that his design of a particular set of pipes is suitable as is and the request would not enhance his model in any way, for his line of bagpipes or the customer in question. He says this is keeping in mind the expense and time spent on innovation, but he may still concede to including a request simply to maintain a satisfied patron if he feels the requests do not outweigh the costs of the undertaking. I mentioned to Goodacre that other makers seem to infer that they sometimes tell a customer they will fulfill a particular request, yet fail to do so or do not inform the customer in the hopes that they will not notice. Goodacre told me that was an unspoken law amongst instrument builders (and probably anyone else who constructs bespoke crafts). He told me that several times he either agreed to make an adjustment he found redundant or useless, then purposefully omitted it and sent it the finished set of pipes on to the customer. Many times, he claimed, the customer either never

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212 Conversation with Goodacre, January 2011.
noticed or never mentioned the alteration or specified choice to him. Only a few times has a patron addressed such an issue and only once, Goodacre says, has a customer returned a set of pipes, demanding that their request be honoured.

When his authority is not being secretly imposed, Goodacre’s opinion is more often taken as authority. Thus, when he expresses a view on why or why not a certain design feature should be included, it is typically adopted by the potential customer.214 This is less often the case when a more advanced player commissions a set of pipes with a highly technical alteration request, especially one that addresses a specific performance technique issue. Goodacre claimed that he did not honour these requests any more than others. Nonetheless, he immediately went on to observe that if the alteration involved an innovation that might be incorporated into other pipe sets or if he simply just wanted to take on the challenge of tackling the alteration/innovation for his own amusement, he would take the request under consideration.

One such case was a recent commission by a student Goodacre considered to be a prodigy at the Royal Academy of Music named Richard (no last name given to me). Richard is an accomplished oboist and a technically proficient small pipes player. He requested Goodacre to make his chanter with a set of keys that would allow him to play the bagpipes more like an oboe, giving him complete chromatic possibilities and aligning the fingering techniques of the set more with that of the oboe he plays.215 Goodacre was loath to agree to this, but because the patron is a highly accomplished and recognized as an up-and-coming player in both classical settings and folk music circles, he decided to analyze the value of attempting this innovation. Despite calculating that to build such an instrument would involve considerable economic loss, Goodacre still decided to embrace the request. He observed that this innovation might lead to the sale of other similar instruments, retailing at a higher price than the rest of his line of pipes, and that the challenge alone may prove

214 Conversation with Goodacre, January, 2011.
215 Goodacre said he thought it was an early 20th Century French style oboe.
exciting and interesting for him. Goodacre ended this account of the evolution of this commission with the assertion that he undertakes making bagpipes more for his own enjoyment of it, rather than the living it brings him (although he did also say that one cannot exist without the other for long.)

**Non-Performing Commissioners: Establishing Authority (part 2)**

Whilst most of Goodacre’s commissions to build and repair bagpipes are intended for active players, some have a less definite future. A set of bagpipes that arrived at Goodacre’s workshop during my visit in January 2011 was one such example. The owner had won the set of pipes online through an auction service. His sole intention with the pipes, once won, was to have them refurbished for resale. Goodacre was noticeably less enthusiastic about this repair job, and when I inquired as to how he felt about it, Goodacre stated that he was slightly uncomfortable about it, but only in that he wanted to make sure the pipes made their way to a good player, and hoped that they did not simply sit idle on a shelf, untouched.

Another situation in which Goodacre finds himself making or repairing a set of pipes with no expectation of them being played regularly is commissions from museums to have Goodacre build replicas or examples of bagpipes for display and research purposes. Again, Goodacre expressed his dismay that the instruments in which he invests time and care will most likely rarely or never be played, but he claims to have come to terms with the eventuality that all instruments have a life of their own (a la Appadurai (1986)) from their conception to the end of their use.216

It is not my intention in this work to focus upon commissions that have resulted in the instrument not being played, nor situations in which an instrument’s expected

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216 As mentioned in chapter one, this parallels literature and film depictions of instruments being the focus of a narrative, presenting how an object has its own biography with which other actors interact and react to it. The instrument in these situations is an actant within a network, according to ANT, creating, influencing and eliminating connections as its history unfolds.
performance situation is one of ‘non-use’; however it is an important element that should be acknowledged because of the significant added authority working in a historical restorative context affords him. One dialectic interaction in which Goodacre finds himself which is directly related to commissions with a potential to include a non-performance aspect, are those of historical replica commissions. Goodacre collaborated with piper and musicologist Barnaby Brown and piper Rory Sinclair to study and replicate the Iain Dall chanter, a surviving piece played by Iain “Blind John” Dall circa 1700. The chanter was stored by Dall’s estate after his death in 1754 and was taken to Nova Scotia in 1800 by Dall’s surviving grandson John Roy. Between travels to Canada to measure the chanter and a rare opportunity to study and refurbish the chanter at his workshop in Peebles, Scotland, Goodacre was able to gather data on the chanter enabling him to build his own version. Once this project was finished, Goodacre was equipped with the knowledge necessary to recreate Iain Dall style chanters to offer his customers, adding a simultaneously modern and historically accurate piece to his line of pipes.

Figure 34: The Iain Dall chanter (above) and Goodacre’s replica prototype (below) that he now offers to his customers.

Goodacre’s research of the Iain Dall chanter and development of a new model of pipes to market, affords him an increased level of attractiveness for gothic Neo-Medievalist performers in terms of historical evocation and contemporary performance incorporation. As mentioned above (see chapter two), Neo-Medievalist gothic sensibilities embrace the duality of modern and traditional that Goodacre also exhibits through his Iain Dall chanter model. Not all Neo-Medievalist Gothic performers will be well versed in the nuances of historical replications, but their awareness of historical representation will be somewhat enhanced. In addition, they may find Goodacre’s work more desirable because of the construction decisions he made as a result of his research; and that potentially, these restoration efforts have informed other models’ construction built post research.

**Interaction with Neo-Medievalist Gothic Performer Customers**

Goodacre’s level of direct interaction with Neo-Medievalist Gothic performers seems to be practically non-existent. As mentioned above, he has encountered some players of Gothic music in passing at festivals and researched their music and performances online, but to date no Gothic style performers have contacted Goodacre directly to commission an instrument. There are some players of the genre who own pipe sets made by Goodacre, but interestingly, Goodacre has not branched into that specific market yet. It is specifically this indirect channel of maker – instrument - non-Goth patron – Neo-Medievalist Gothic performer that interests me. The influence and responsiveness of a maker not directly connected to the Gothic scene still exists and is potentially a strong enough link in the maker-instrument-player network such that her or his opinions and decisions remain significant. This argument alone is enough to retain my findings on Goodacre’s pipe making, but in addition, his work in comparison to the other makers with whom I have interacted,

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218 In conversation with Goodacre, he mentioned to me that he has incorporated new methods of turning wood for his chanters that he developed whilst attempting to recreate the Iain Dall chanter. He plans to introduce a chanter model based on the Iain Dall chanter for many of his pipe models. Conversation with Goodacre, January 2011.
offers a fuller range of interaction such that a clearer picture of how makers interact with the Neo-Medievalist Gothic scene affects the sensibilities of the scene’s participants and vice versa. Admittedly, there are larger networks of Early Music-style bagpipe knowledge, aesthetics, priorities, which involve several indirect transmission flows to which all bagpipe makers are connected on some level, and therefore a distance between maker and player is created by an association with a more generalized network, but perhaps, it is this very distance between the builder and the Neo-Medievalist Gothic performer that instills an additional sense of reputation and nourishes concepts of sonic and visual acceptability within the scene.

**Building Bagpipes for Authenticity**

Goodacre upholds varying levels of concern with historical and traditional conventions. As regards timbres, he adamantly rejects the incorporation of certain sounds, whilst others he promotes heavily. Particularly, in regards to most of the pipes sets he makes, Goodacre seems to appreciate smoother, softer sounds, and his pipes are built with the intention that these types of sounds will be produced during a performance. As with the case of Richard Potter above, Potter’s background in piping is closely associated with a Highland Great Pipe style he learned from his father. These pipes are much larger and intended for outdoor performances (such as battlefields and festival dancing)\textsuperscript{219} and require considerable air to sound the reeds, which are thicker than those used for smaller pipe sets,\textsuperscript{220} such as the small Borderlands bellows-blown set Potter commissioned from Goodacre. Goodacre’s two main concerns were, in his words, tuning and a “scratchy” timbre brought about by Potter’s “overblowing” of the small set he claimed resulted in both forcing the drones out of tune with the chanter and an undesirable raspiness emanating from the

\textsuperscript{219} Cannon devotes several chapters to the various types of music and performance settings of Scottish Highland pipes, attributing outdoor dancing and army music to the Great Pipes (1988;2002:105-133).

\textsuperscript{220} As explained to me by Goodacre. Conversation, January, 2011.
chanter reed. Goodacre told me after Potter’s visit that he hoped he had an influence on performers whom played on his bagpipes such that they attempt to maintain an awareness of traditional sounds. By this he referred specifically to the performance of traditional music.

These timbres are not requisites for remaining in Goodacre’s good or bad graces, however, depending on the setting. Goodacre mentioned a woman based in Florida, USA who had purchased a set of Leicestershire pipes. Apparently she had no prior experience performing on pipes and taught herself to play. Years after her purchase, she sent Goodacre a tape of music she was playing at the time. Goodacre termed the style “Lesbian Rock” claiming it featured a vocalist playing simple chords on an acoustic guitar, backed by electric bass, trap drums, and his customer on the bagpipes. He told me that in terms of traditional bagpipe music, the tuning of the pipe set was incorrect and that her technique was “ghastly”. Yet he went on to say that he felt these sounds fitted the nature of the material she was performing and he enjoyed the “energy” of the music, thus he was proud to have her playing on a set of his pipes.

The styles of music that Goodacre expects to be played on his bagpipes directly influence his construction decisions. He offers a range of different styles of pipes, and each one has an associated set of performance techniques, that he sees as being the proper ways in which the pipes are played. According to him, all makers who play bagpipes make sets suitable for the styles of playing with which they are most familiar. Goodacre talked to me about another maker, Hamish Moore, who makes Highland Great Pipes. Moore’s sets, according to Goodacre, are harsher in timbre and reflect the encouragement of stronger blowing when performing to match the player’s approach to producing sounds.

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221 Conversation with Goodacre. 17 January, 2011.
222 Moore also makes borderlands pipes, like Goodacre, but the crossover between the two makers is limited. [http://www.hamishmoore.com/](http://www.hamishmoore.com/) (accessed 18 September, 2011.)
Respectively, Goodacre’s bagpipes are designed to encourage a softer playing technique to bring about a softer timbre he intends the player to embrace.\textsuperscript{223}

Moore apparently concurs with Goodacre on the notion that a player performing traditional music should possess or strive for a technique that allows them to embrace the intended timbres for which the instrument was designed.\textsuperscript{224} Moore, in part to ensure this happens, auditions his potential patrons, according to Goodacre, and only accepts commissions from players whom perform with a quality that meets his standards. Goodacre readily admits that this process is difficult to incorporate given the ethical and opinion-based issues surrounding the possible elimination of a customer (and subsequent potential financial issues this may raise), but he also states that he is intrigued by the idea and likes the idea that this might help ensure that his bagpipes sound the way he intended.

Another influence on Goodacre is other makers’ ability to play bagpipes. He told me that it was common at one time (he did not specify a time period, but insinuated when he began making bagpipes, circa 1980), for manufacturers of bagpipes to be engineers or woodworkers who took advantage of the resurgence of interest in Scottish musical heritage and the associated tourist industry. Goodacre claims that these makers were not well versed in playing bagpipes, if they played at all. Thus, when a player ordered and received a set of pipes, these would often need to be tuned and set up by another player. Some even had to be fine-tuned by another maker who was a player as well as a maker. Goodacre says that this encouraged him to play as well as make his bagpipes so that he would not exhibit the same traits nor require his customers to turn elsewhere for music-related issues with their pipe sets. Goodacre went on to declare that it seems absurd that a musical instrument maker would not know about playing the instruments they made; this would not only be

\textsuperscript{223} According to Goodacre, this is the case even with his English Great Pipes, if only ever so slightly. Conversation, January 2011.

\textsuperscript{224} Ibid. January, 2011.
disadvantageous for customers, but also the maker’s legacy. Goodacre, then concludes that potentially a player’s knowledge of a maker’s approaches and attitudes towards construction and customer service may assist in establishing that maker’s authority. Coupling this with the expectation that a player respects the maker of an instrument more if it is understood that the maker is also a performer (as with David Roman Drums (see chapter three)), Goodcare positions himself in a seat of authority that affords him the leverage he needs to influence his patrons to commission a set of pipes from him initially and adhere to his suggestions regarding style, alteration, repair, and playing techniques.

**Authenticity from a Distance**

Direct contact between a maker and performer reduces the obstacles the maker may experience in establishing authority, and thus ensuring his/her livelihood as an instrument builder, but there will also be situations in which a maker’s legacy and definitive intimacy with the instruments they make is not known to the patron. Authority can be established not only by the party said to have the authority, but also by others’ perceptions of that authority, in particular when authority given to the party is considered to be implicit by those perceiving it. Let me reword this idea in terms of a hypothetical example: suppose medieval-style furniture became popular amongst the working class youth of central London (as David Marshall indirectly suggests in Mass Market Medieval (2007: 6-7)). When this trend develops through the evolving sensibilities of those whom may purchase Medieval-style furniture, the authenticity of the furniture is not a historically accurate based authenticity, but rather an authenticity related to the acceptance of the aesthetics.

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225 Judging from the large number of bagpipe makers I encountered at St. Chartier in 2007 and Greenwich International Early Music Festival 2007-2010, the number of makers who do not play the pipes they make was extremely small. Only a few booth workers assisting in selling wares did not seem to play, and even then, performers were available to test an instrument or give advice. As I understand Goodacre, he refers to a period circa 1980s only when discussing makers that do not play their instruments.

226 As mentioned in Chapter one, I did not encounter any female makers personally.
established by those embracing the trend. This can mean that any level of modern aesthetics can be acceptable, if the criteria for what makes a piece of furniture desirable are met. Does the chair have a visual characteristic about it such that its aesthetic value is parallel to and supported by other chairs that established the trend? Will a table that places a different take on the trend, yet remains rooted within the trend confirm one’s place as a member of the trend setting community? These aesthetic values are created and maintained by the trend embracers in most cases without the consent of or consultation with the furniture makers, at least at certain points during the trend’s rise in popularity.

The furniture, then, can effectively place itself within the realm of acceptability by possessing the traits seen as being desirable by the trend’s community. Of course, the furniture is designed and made by someone who has agency (as per my arguments throughout this thesis), but the community to which the pieces are exposed, and potentially to whom they are sold, interprets and instils qualities inherent in the pieces, regardless of the final outcome these injected sensibilities may bring about. Thus, not only is the agency of the maker inherent in wares built, they are also three independent systems of traits and agencies simultaneously working alone and reliant on each other (that being the furniture maker, those whom purchase the chairs, and the chairs themselves). Hoskins, after Gell (2006:76), argues that objects have agency because they have effects and it is the ways in which they make people feel that affords them this agency. If this is the case, Goodacre’s bagpipes potentially embody an authority recognized by the Neo-Medievalist Gothic subculture that is nurtured and upheld by the Gothic community, in part, regardless of Goodacre’s intentions and sensibilities.

The fact that bagpipes have generally become more widely used in Neo-Medievalist settings has placed Goodacre’s pipes in a position where by default, they already possess a

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227 As with the iconography bagpipes hold within the Neo-Medievalist Gothic community I suggest above.
228 A parallel situation to the instrument maker – instrument – player network.
level of acceptability within the community, but this only partly explains why his instruments may be attractive to members of the Neo-Medievalist Gothic scene. As discussed in chapter two, the Neo-Medievalist Gothic scene does not necessarily adhere to historical accuracy as being the highest value to establish an authentic Gothic element. Instead, as with the chair analogy, it is the relation to the authenticity held acceptable within the scene in general that determines an instrument’s intellectual worth. Goodacre’s wares, known to him or not, appeal to the sensibilities of the Neo-Medievalist Gothic performer in terms of visual and sonic aesthetics; in short, their look and sound evokes a sense of the historical association and modern usage dually inherent in Gothic music, thus they may be somewhat readily accepted. Perhaps this may be able to be said of any set of pipes, but Goodacre’s specific awareness of traditional music combined with his self-described excitement that his pipe making is part of a living tradition, which he sees as ever changing and modern accentuates this notion of “old” mixed with “new”, which is of particular appeal to the Gothic scene. Hodkinson (2007:263) suggests that the gothic subculture aesthetic is a complicated amalgam that draws not only from historical Gothic sources, but also from a variety of distinct styles, many of which are modern. This has certainly been the case with the Neo-Medievalist Gothic community on varied levels, in my experience, including choices of instruments. Goodacre himself referenced Corvus Corax when explaining his outlook on modern versus traditional approaches to bagpipe building: He said he appreciated the outfits they tend to wear on stage because it embraced a similar sensibility to his own; in fact when Goodacre performs, he prefers to wear brightly coloured clothing that he referred to as 1960s fashion. He went on to say that this reflected his position in the arena of bagpipe performance, meaning he was not a young player whom would wear today’s fashions, but also not a player concerned with historical accuracy to the point of wanting to perform in replicated medieval clothing. Goodacre emphatically stressed bagpipe

229 See chapter four for an explicit account of historical/modern dualism inherent in a musical instrument that appeals to Neo-Medievalist Gothic performers.
making was a living tradition that draws from contemporary modern elements as much as historical research and is injected with the personal history and interests of the maker themselves.\footnote{230} Unspoken Status and Quality

The status of owning or performing with one of Goodacre’s instruments within the Neo-Medievalist Gothic scene is probably not specifically addressed within the Neo-Medievalist Gothic community. The lack of direct contact with performers of the genre suspends most of the information flow that may allow Goodacre to gain clout within the community, at least that which would be associated with his name as a maker. The generally perceived quality of his instruments may increase the value of his pipes within the scene, but this is nothing Goodacre or scene specific. However, that being said, if his pipes were of a quality seen as being too far below the accepted standard of the Neo-Medievalist Gothic performers, Goodacre’s wares would rarely be employed by Gothic players. Likewise, if his pipes were accepted as being of such high quality that they were somehow above the use of performers within the scene, the chances of his bagpipes being owned or played by Gothic players would most likely be hindered, as too high a status association can warrant a negative response. For instance, punk rock performers, even professional ones, according to Barker and Taylor, avoid using gear that may be perceived as excessively high quality, such as new, expensive guitars without any damage and larger sized drum kits, as this can reduce the authenticity of the performer’s presentation (2002: 263). It stands to reason, then, that Neo-Medievalist Gothic performers may have established a range of quality in which an instrument become acceptable. How new and shiny it appears versus the functionality and the sense of history it evokes become factors in purchasing decisions, all of which can affect the attractiveness of Goodacre’s bagpipes for a scene participant.

\footnote{230} Conversation with Goodacre, January 2011.
For example, Naylei Garza tells me she prefers desirable sonic qualities over visual qualities. “Now I’m looking for a good sound, I don’t really care on the looks, I rather have a powerful sound, in a more ‘humble’ looking set, than having a ‘bling bling’ [meaning heavily ornate] set that does the same as the ‘simple’ one.” Nonetheless, she also informed me that she is saving up to buy another set of bagpipes, this time from German maker Jens Guntzel. Guntzel is the maker of many of the instruments played by Corvus Corax and his instruments are well known for being ‘gothic’ or elaborately decorated, for example, featuring bag stock with modern art versions of monster heads carved into them. For Garza, Goodacre’s bagpipes, visually speaking, could be either attractive or not, depending on how she sees their sonic capabilities in comparison to their visual traits.

Figure 35: A set of bagpipes made by German maker Jens Guntzel featuring a metallic monster head on the stock and goat horns on the drones.

The determination of aesthetic value and quality can occur outside the realm of direct customer contact. If Goodacre’s contact level with Neo-Medievalist Gothic performers changes, this sensibility of status and quality may also evolve, of course, but there will always be an element of longer distance judgment and status assessment when less knowledgeable patrons and community members are involved.

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231 Email correspondence with Garza. 18 September, 2011.
Being Traditional Is Being Innovative

Goodacre incorporates several design elements he deems innovative in terms of sound production or playing technique. His use of plastic reeds perhaps would be the most notable alteration from traditional sets that tend to use cane reeds which would appeal to Gothic style performers. Plastic reeds are more durable and are less affected by changes in temperature and humidity, which musicians often encounter when, for example, on tour and performing in a variety of venues. They may also tend to withstand harsher blowing and over-blowing, affording them higher volume output. Whilst these traits are not uniquely attractive to a Gothic performer, I argue that their existence makes Goodacre’s pipes appealing to any performer addressing issues associated with playing with amplified accompaniment, touring, indoor and outdoor performance, and frequent (re)tuning, which potentially includes Neo-Medievalist Gothic musicians. In his article on bagpipes in the Scottish Borderlands, Goodacre suggests that part of the current revival of borderland pipes popularity includes the playing of small pipes alongside saxophones, keyboards, and electric guitars. He mentioned to me during my visit in 2009 that he keeps that in mind when constructing his version of these pipes.

Generally speaking, however, Goodacre’s bagpipes embrace a more or less traditional aesthetic. As mentioned elsewhere (see chapters 2, 3, and 4 above), the Gothic aesthetic, and especially the Neo-Medievalist Gothic aesthetic, is a mixture of traditional and contemporary, if not experimental or harshly bleak sensory traits. It is easy to see how the seemingly traditional, but rock performance friendly drums of David Roman Drums (see chapter 3) and the electric viola da gamba discussed below (see chapter 5) fall into this framework of what makes for a neo-Medievalist Gothic instrument, but why would Goodacre’s primarily traditional instruments also bridge the same modern – traditional gap commonly desired and accepted by the scene participants?
One likely reason is the context in which the bagpipes are played. Commonly, the bands performing with a set of pipes, such as In Extremo or Cultus Ferox, are merging them with rock instruments, which, even if they are acoustic versions, are seen as being the modern counterpart of the Early Music or folk instrumentation. In other cases, the elements partially rooting the music in the 21st century Gothic scene are either visual or referential, such that the traditional style instrumentation is combined with another, distinctly modern factor, completing the Neo-Medievalist Gothic construction of acceptable aesthetics. The Soil Bleeds Black, Estampie, and Faun are all bands that embrace this method of conveying their Neo-Medievalist Gothic nature. All of them perform with acoustic instruments and incorporate primarily medieval melodies and songs, but all of them enhance their performances with lavish Gothic outfits, instruments adorned in images of skeletons or painted black, and their vocal styles emulate modern Gothic rock, sometimes with electronic effects, et cetera, to counter their traditional style instruments (as discussed in chapter two).

Goodacre’s mostly traditional bagpipe sets, then, can easily fit into such a setting. This, of course, can be said of almost any traditional instrument, although Goodacre’s pipes, geared towards styles that for some greatly match that of the Neo-Medievalist Gothic genre, may have an advantage over those that are not so constructed.\textsuperscript{232} Regardless, it is the readdressing of the ways in which the performer incorporates modern and traditional that allows for Goodacre’s bagpipes to be aesthetically attractive. Some may feel that the farther “out of place” an instrument is used, meaning a folk instrument used within a dark, rock setting specifically, the more aesthetically attractive it becomes\textsuperscript{233}. Couple this with the

\textsuperscript{232} See discussion above on Jens Guntzel and Garza’s bagpipe aesthetics.
\textsuperscript{233} My research does not extend to cover other genres such as Neo-Folk, Darkwave music, or Folk Metal, but some performers of these genres suggest that incorporation of folk or acoustic instrumentation accentuates a connection between lay workers or “commoners” and political and economic aspects of society, some of which are paralleled by dark folk tales also regularly integrated into songs by performers of these genres. Taken from conversations with Tony Wakeford, acoustic
relatively few innovations that Goodacre employs and his bagpipes can become exceptionally desirable to members of the scene.

**Influencing Indirectly**

Goodacre and his bagpipes are an excellent example of how an instrument built without the specific market of the Neo-Medievalist Gothic scene as a major target still injects a level of influential factors into the stream of traits upon which the community draws when constructing their sensibilities and accepted aesthetics. Working independently for the most, the maker and the players in the maker-instrument-player network possess numerous connections and mutual interactive arenas in which they operate simultaneously and often along with one another. Authority established by Goodacre is also established in many ways by the members of the subculture without regard to Goodacre’s activities directly, but instead through the scene’s outlook on what constitutes an authoritative stance within which Goodacre places himself via his background and construction decisions without knowing what the Neo-Medievalist Gothic ideal may be. By embracing elements of modern and traditional construction, Goodacre strengthens his appeal to Neo-Medievalist Gothic performers; similarly, his sensibilities of proper sounds and acceptable performance styles also meet the needs of performers in the scene. Potentially, this would work both directions, as Goodacre says he would welcome Neo-Medievalist Gothic performers to play his bagpipes, referring to both the styles and techniques associated with the genre (in general) and the market that players using his wares may open up for him.

It is this last notion that truly interests me (and him, it would seem). In ten years’ time, will performers in the Neo-Medievalist Gothic music scene be widely using Goodacre’s bagpipes? Will my project have alerted Goodacre to the presence the scene to the point of him capitalizing on the possibilities afforded by refocusing on this demographic through

and electric bassist for Neo-Folk bands Sol Invictus and Death in June and Neo-Folk artist and English folk music archivist Andrew King, 10 September, 2010.
construction and marketing? Certainly, the remote situation that I encountered at the
beginning of my research has lessened and only time will tell if any changes will emerge and
alter the ways in which Goodacre informs his construction decisions. Currently, though, it is
clear that the connection the maker has with the players may be remote, but it is strong and
easily traced, via the instruments and their construction.
Chapter Six
Sharing the Network: Comparisons and Conclusions

In this dissertation, varying levels of participation in the Neo-Medievalist Gothic music scene on the part of individual makers have been discussed. The sensibilities of makers that lead to innovative design work have been connected to the subsequent instruments, which have in turn, taken on lives of their own. The omni-directional pathways of these connections have also been visible. Sensibilities nurtured by instrument aesthetics have reconnected with makers to strengthen or weaken ties with the Neo-Medievalist Gothic music performers. The various levels and types of contact between actors in the maker-instrument-player network is constantly changing, resulting in the evolution of physical traits of the instruments that evoke and express the maker’s and player’s responses and sentiments.

The three makers discussed in my case studies may be seen to be immersed in the maker-instrument-player network in different ways, all sharing particular forms of connections and interactions with the scene. Latour points out that a network is simply something which allows actors to mediate (2005:131). He also states that actors, because they are systems of interaction themselves, can be thought of as being networks as well as actors (and vice versa – networks can be thought of as actors in a collective sense) (2005:179), which suggests that the maker-instrument-player network I have coined for this thesis can also be the maker-instrument-player actor. Taking what used to be the network and redefining it as an actor (or technically an “actant” from an ANT perspective because it contains both human and non-human actors), a new network can be discussed: the [maker-instrument-player actor]-network. This, of course, is the same network as before, but on an expanded level, showing that the makers not only operate individually with the network, but also somewhat collectively in certain settings, that can be seen as layers of networks and actants, forming various connections laterally and longitudinally. It should be clarified that
the individual reactions and interactions are still intact and influential, but it may serve to further clarify the role of the maker by reviewing the series of surrounding networks in which they are mutually submerged.

All of the makers have professed making instruments as their vocation, even if this is not their primary motivation. The nature of this vocation demands that they address particular issues and interact with certain types of network. Some of the issues include obtaining and maintaining their position with the maker-instrument-player network and how that extends to other networks beyond. For example: the constructions of historical accuracy and values placed upon acknowledging these perceptions; collective network ideas of integrity and craftsmanship and how these relate to and are met by the individual makers; economic and marketing efforts and how these factor influence and bridge the ways in which the makers are involved within various circles. Observing and noting similarities and differences between the makers’ approaches to these elements and situations will highlight further the role of the maker as well as offer suggestions for future research that cannot be fully addressed here.

**Three for the Festival: Representation and Customer Interaction at Trade Shows and Music Events**

The makers with whom I work have all discussed their traditional or Early Music backgrounds as starting points for their instrument design, manufacture, and sales. Their endeavors have initially targeted Early Music enthusiasts, but this tendency appears to be expanding to include wider and more contemporary music based performers. In particular, a shift to address the aesthetics and concerns of Neo-Medievalist Gothic musicians has arisen with each maker. The levels of actual, or expected, engagement varies greatly between them, but it is present with all makers nonetheless.

Perhaps this is to be expected, given the increasing contact and crossover between the Early Music scene and the Neo-Medievalist Gothic community. Evidence of this can be
seen at Early Music events, such as festivals. As discussed in chapter two, a certain number of Neo-Medievalist Gothic music fans and performers attended the Greenwich International Early Music Festival during the years I was present. Other festivals exhibit a much larger attendance by Neo-Medievalist Gothic enthusiasts. This suggests that Early Music based events sometimes also attract Neo-Medievalist Gothic community members, at which an expanding set of aesthetics has taken place to accommodate both (and other) scenes.

One of the main ways the makers interact directly with music communities is by participating in a range of annual festivals. Each type of festival focuses upon a different aspect of music culture and provides the makers with demographics and exposure possibilities unique to that particular festival setting. One of the longest-running events to focus on the makers of traditional and Early Music instruments is the *Rencontres Internationales de Luthiers et Maîtres Sonneurs*. Until 2010, the festival was held at St. Chartier, France on the grounds of a castle next to the small village.²³⁴ I attended the festival in 2008 to visit Julian Goodacre²³⁵ and also found David Roman Drums in attendance. The event was attended by over 300 makers that year and there were seventeen performance stages, including three main concert stages, and a variety of instrument-related events taking place over four days.

Both makers, whom, incidentally, were situated almost across from one another, received fluid traffic to their booths throughout the festival. Both Goodacre and Roman Dill (from DRD) were booked to perform during the event, Goodacre as a solo performer demonstrating his wares and Dill with a Neo-Medievalist harp player and vocalist also performing on instruments he built. The majority of the attendees were Early Music and traditional folk music enthusiasts, it seemed, but a small number of gothic music fans were

²³⁴ I can find no official announcement to this effect, but I have been told by festival goers that the castle, which is an official French historical site, refused to host the festival due to recent changes in laws governing insurance on historic site grounds.

²³⁵ He had suggested I attend when I met Goodacre at the Greenwich International Early Music Festival the year before.
also in attendance. Some of the performers at the festival were artists whose music is played on Neo-Medievalist Gothic radio\textsuperscript{236} and whom have appeared at Wave Gothik Treffen\textsuperscript{237} in past years, such as French countertenor and octave mandolin player Luc Aborgast.

![Figure 36: Luc Aborgast at the 2008 St. Chartier Festival of Instrument Makers and Master Musicians. Although not pictured here, Aborgast’s percussionist performed with DRD percussion at times during their set.](image)

The audience for the Neo-Medievalist Gothic performances consisted of a variety of music fans, whose presence - in the spirit of the festival - was seemingly appreciated by most of the festival goers. Similarly, attendees comprising a wide range of musical interests visited the booths of DRD and Goodacre. Whilst I was talking with or assisting the makers at their booths, I witnessed not only instrument purchase enquiries, but requests for repairs, performance technique suggestions, and booking contact information so that invitations to play could be extended on a future occasion. As may be expected, the festival provided a full range of connective interactions that presented the makers as more than just instrument

\textsuperscript{236} Last.FM, Live365.com, and the now defunct GothicRadio.com, for example.

\textsuperscript{237} See chapter two for details on this festival.
builders, even though, I gathered that this was the primary identity given them by the attendees.

![An attendee at St. Chartier 2008 testing bagpipes.
Although it is not visible in this photograph, the player is wearing a t-shirt (with the sleeves removed) imprinted with the logo for German Neo-Medievalist Gothic Rock band In Extremo.](image)

The economic factors surrounding the patronage, participation, and production of the festival, as with any festival, were complex and multifaceted, and affected demographics, marketing, pricing of wares, promotion, and more. I cannot fully address the details of those factors here, however, it should be mentioned that there was an unofficial extension of the festival taking place just outside the castle walls featuring a street market of builders whom either could not afford to pay for booth space inside or did not meet the deadline for applying for space. There were also various impromptu performances and
teaser presentations, some from performers participating in the official festival to promote their upcoming concerts inside, as well as many by performers and makers without the official capacity to present performances on sanctioned stages within. The unofficial outside extension notably involved a lower economic bracket than those participating within the official site. Äßmann (DRD worker) and Goodacre both told me (at different times) that they would have liked to visit the outdoor extension at least briefly to promote their booths, but that neither of them expected productive results from doing so because of the spending expectations they placed on the unofficial visitors. They both seemed to be more interested in attracting the attention of visitors who exhibited a greater buying potential.

Selling instruments is, of course, one of the primary reasons for festival participation by instrument makers (although, as already demonstrated, not the only reason by any means). In chapters two, four, and five, I have already mentioned the Greenwich International Early Music Festival that takes place each year at Trinity College, Greenwich, London. This festival is predominantly directed towards Early Music enthusiasts as the name of the festival suggests, but again, it is attended by a wide range of visitors. Also, whilst the displays in the exhibition halls in Greenwich are mostly instrument makers or sellers, the festival is billed as concert-oriented. Here again I encountered Julian Goodacre (2007, 2008, 2010) as well as Jan Goorissen hosting a booth for Ruby Gamba and the Van Der Voort Viola de Gamba (2007, 2008). I attended a concert in 2008 given by Goodacre at which he performed pieces on several models of bagpipe, each of which he was selling at his booth along with CD releases of recordings of them. Goorissen did not present a concert at the festivals which I attended, but he did perform occasionally at his display booth. This type of displaying one’s product is typical of course, but Goorisen felt that perhaps for some attendees, the novelty of an electric instrument at an Early Music festival could be

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particularly alluring. The network interactions in this setting appear to be dedicated to an increase in exposure, presumably to increase commissions through positive reputation, establishing credibility as both maker and performer, and forming new or strengthening existing affiliations. Demonstrating the maker’s instruments to players is one of the keys ways in which these goals can be reached.

Certain makers also attend trade shows which are intended to increase business through exposure of goods to wholesalers and retailers, as well as to end users. These events are more obviously approached with these objectives than festivals, although the two do have similarities. DRD manned an exhibit booth at the 2002 Musik Messe in Frankfurt, Germany (see chapter three for more details), but the fair did not offer a programme of performances and whilst DRD provided in-booth demonstrations, they did not offer repair services. They relied strictly on the traffic of passers-by (which proved restrictive as the space allotted them was in a less-travelled corner of the hall). Goorissen’s Ruby Gamba was represented at this trade show and at the United States equivalent, the National Association of Music Merchants trade show, but not by Goorissen himself. In both cases, retailers displayed one or two Ruby Gambas and acted as middlemen for sales of Goorissen’s instruments.

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239 Phone conversation with Goorissen, 07 July, 2011.
The approaches to participating in a trade show differ from those discussed above for the case of festivals. In part this may reflect the ways the organizers restrict makers from engaging in the same ways to strictly economic forms of activity and interaction, but I suggest that this is also shaped by the broader audience and thus less focused demographic, a small proportion consisting of such makers’ typical target market. Dill observed to me that DRD stopped attending Musik Messe because it did not return enough revenue to warrant their efforts financially. Goorissen also has not ensured he is represented at a trade show since 2007. It appears the maker-instrument-player network within a festival context, Neo-Medievalist Gothic associated or not, lacks the interaction and support needed to validate participation for these builders.

The interactions and responses experienced by the makers at trade shows and festivals, and the subsequent economic implications encourage the makers to prioritize events and marketing strategies that are more closely related to their original demographics.
They have, however, also reacted to the expanding aesthetics associated with the Early Music scene, and each maker, in their own way, has approached the development of their instrument armed with this information. DRD continues to engage in activities directly with the Neo-Medievalist Goth scene, generating new commissions; Goorissen’s upcoming gothic rock model overtly addresses the expansion of his market; and Goodacre, whilst remaining focused on traditional folk music aesthetics, has admitted his interest in the Neo-Medievalist Gothic community, suggesting he may consider altering future bagpipe designs to accommodate broadening his customer base.

Each maker’s movement to address a Neo-Medievalist Gothic demographic also reflects the importance of economic considerations within the evolution of an instrument’s development. Issues surrounding economics and marketing comprise a majority of connections fostered between the maker-instrument-player network as actor and some satellite networks. A further look at the economic details of the demographic groups involved would be necessary to more fully unravel the affects the actor-networks have upon one another, which is beyond the scope of this thesis, but should be considered for future research.

Networking through the Net: The Makers’ Online Presence

A majority of independently owned businesses have a website through which they promote their products or services. All three of the makers with whom I worked on this research project are among this majority maintaining websites, but until recently these appear to have been little visited. For example, when starting this project I contacted DRD using the information posted on their website. It was months later that I received a response from Dill. He told me that he rarely checks the company email address and that when I arrived in Berlin (in March 2009), to just come to the address on the site or

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240 According to this survey, 54% of independent businesses and 100% of larger corporations owned websites. [http://outspokenmedia.com/small-business-marketing/small-business-need-a-website/](http://outspokenmedia.com/small-business-marketing/small-business-need-a-website/) (accessed 19 September, 2011.)
call the number posted. The address, however, was an old office address for a building now used as storage for DRD, with no one present to answer the phone. The DRD workshop is in the same building complex, but no employees regularly visit the old office, so communication with the workers from outside the new workspace is sparse at best during work hours, as the new workspace does not have new phone lines or connections to the old office of any sort.

Once I was familiar with the DRD workshop and had knowledge of their current line of drum models offered for sale, I revisited the website to find that most of them were not listed and older models no longer offered were pictured on the site. The website, although artistic in design, is set up such that a visitor must click linearly through the pages of the site to get any information. The final page posting the contact information has been changed since my internship, but only so the address reflects the general group of buildings and the mobile number matches one of the employees.

The Ruby Gamba website is equally out of date. Goorissen’s contact information is current, but the site seems to have been set up in 2006 and left untouched since then. I have also had delays contacting Goorissen through his online contact information, even though he suggests that email him or call him using Skype (online phone service). Likewise, Goodacre had set up a website approximately ten years ago, but told me he did not feel comfortable using the internet to contact customers and he still prefers to communicate on the telephone or through letter correspondence. Only Goodacre has updated his site recently and that with the assistance of a customer whom is internet savvy.

What this may be saying about all three makers is that they do not rely heavily on the internet for sales or communication of any type. According to Hodkinson, the internet is a social hub for gothic scene community members (2002:176) and he places the importance

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243 http://www.goodbagpipes.co.uk/ (accessed 12 September 2011)
of this upon the fact that the World Wide Web, although it can be accessed by anyone, still
unites targeted communities because individuals must search for websites in which they are
interested (2002:177). As I discuss in chapter two, the overall gothic online community is
paralleled by the Neo-Medievalist Gothic online scene. The lack of attention the makers pay
to their web presence, then, is extended to the online Neo-Medievalist Gothic community
(and all others), at least uni-directionally. Whether or not Neo-Medievalist Goths search for
and investigate these makers’ sites, there is no way of knowing without surveying scene
members. The maker-instrument-player network in the arena of online communication and
discussion is virtually devoid of the makers’ direct input. Perhaps this is indicative of being
accustomed to working with a customer base that is less likely to engage in communications
through the internet? Perhaps this is a shift in marketing that has not yet fully been
embraced (or in the case of Goodacre, is just beginning to materialize)? Again, further
research would be necessary to obtain a more definitive answer to these questions.

**Filling Orders: Production Methods and Workshop Aesthetics**

Another similarity that the three makers share is a necessity to fulfill orders and a
place in which to assemble the instrument commissioned. Here the similarity ends, though.
DRD’s workshop is a large facility within a series of warehouses that at one point had been
an artist’s squat. The workshop consists of a general woodworking room, a sanding room, a
drying room, a steaming and bending room, a finishing room, a skin preparation room, and a
receiving room for guests which also doubles as a drying room for finished drums. There is a
separate workshop for the pyrographer and another for building barrel-style drum shells.
The finishing room has walls of racks that house finished drums and serves as a store front
when customers visit DRD. Each room has a worker operating as a specialist in part of an
assembly line-style of production. Even though many workers have the knowledge to
perform multiple tasks, typically they are assigned one at a time to maintain continuous
production.
According to Dill, DRD receives around 45-50 orders for various types of drums per month. Their output, however, is approximately 30-35 drums a month. Some drum types can be made faster than others, depending on the availability of materials and the complexity of the design, but the ratio of orders to drums built is still weighted to generate a sizeable backlog of unfinished orders. Dill mentioned that some types of drum have a waiting list three to four years long (tonbaks and riqs, for example).

The DRD workspace and approach to production dictates certain aspects of how they interact with both the instruments and the performers in the maker-instrument-player network. Their workshop is set up to accommodate bespoke instrument building with a mass-production style assembly line. This method, however, is still not efficient enough to ensure that DRD meets all of their orders within a consistent time frame. Musicians commissioning an instrument most likely will expect to be placed on a waiting list, but often the construction is begun chronologically in the order in which the commissions were received if possible. At DRD, the completion of an instrument depends more upon the availability of materials which in turn in determined by funds generated from other commissions and the opportunities taken by the workers to gather the materials (e.g. Aβmann and Dill have two separate contacts from which they buy wood supplies, but they suppliers are not consistently stocked nor are they local thus Dill and Aβmann must time their visits to purchase planks for drums when the occasion is open to them, incurring periods of low or high amounts of wood to be stocked at the workshop).

One solution that DRD has employed is to make multiples of any drums with a less complicated design to stock their finishing room. Aβmann suggests that if visitors are seeking a specific drum and it may take several months or longer to have one completed,

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244 Conversation with Dill. 17 March, 2009.
246 I have encountered situations with all three makers in which they have prioritized certain commission under special circumstances, as with Goodacre who moved a commission forward when the order was placed for a set of pipes to be a birthday present for a hospitalised elderly man. Conversation with Goodacre. 17 January, 2011.
they may opt to purchase another style from the selection of drums already prepared instead.247 That assists in relieving some of the backlog stress as well as increases funds gained from more immediate transactions.

Does this affect Neo-Medievalist Gothic music aesthetics in any way? Only if drums desired by Neo-Medievalist Gothic performers have a particularly long waiting list leading them to opt for another style of drum, rather than wait for their preferred instrument to be built. I suspect, though, that any musician with a specific drum in mind would be willing, and even expect, to wait for a commissioned instrument. What does affect the player (Neo-medievalist Goth or not) is the capability for musicians to visit the workshop and peruse some of the finished products. As with the case of Lisa Gerrard (see chapter three), a customer may wish to visit with the intention of buying completed drums. Without the extra stock and the space in which to display it, DRD would not be able to accommodate the purchasing of drums by visitors. In addition, this raises questions about the factors involved when stocking the finishing room? Are the “extra drums” lower costing drums, making it either affordable for DRD to build additional drums or visiting players to make an “impulse buy”? Or drums that required special construction methods that promoted building multiple instruments rather than a single drum in order to make the undertaking more cost effective? Or might aesthetic choices on the part of the maker (in response to their own sensibilities or in an attempt to appease potential customers) partially dictate the drums that fill the DRD make-shift show room? These are all points to take under consideration in a future study.

Goodacre does not have a show room, per se, but he still invites players to visit his workshop.248 He tells me he prefers a player to “come get a feel for the way he works”

248 And this seems to be more than simply a nice gesture, judging from the home page of his website that shows a picture of Goodacre opening the door to his workshop with the word “Welcome!” in large letters below it. http://www.goodbagpipes.co.uk/ (accessed 20 September, 2011.)
before commissioning a set of pipes. Goodacre lives next door to his workshop. He admits to enjoying the rapport created through friendly interactions with customers and Goodacre claims to have hour long conversations with clients before beginning to arrange details of an order. The visit by Potter mentioned in chapter five took place in Goodacre’s workshop office, where Potter brought tea and cake to share whilst his commission was discussed. Goodacre says this is a typical interaction for him.

Figure 39: Julian Goodacre’s home (left) and workshop (the building down the hill to the right, behind the red, white, and blue sign) in Peebles, Scotland.

As mentioned in chapter five, Goodacre only recently started building multiple sets of bagpipes at a time to generate some stock for immediate sales. He chose to build the least complicated and least expensive model for this purpose. At the time of my visit to his workshop in January, 2011, he had completed two “extra” sets of pipes and had parts for

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250 Goodacre claims it is exactly 128 steps from his bed at his house to his lathe in his workshop. Conversation with Goodacre 16 January, 2011.
five more. He was considering making a small number of pipes of different types to fill out his stock selection if these sold relatively quickly.

Here again, although there is no formal storefront, there is the opportunity for a performer to familiarize themselves with the maker before commissioning an instrument and affording them the possibility of purchasing something on impulse. Goorissen, however, does not provide this for his customers. Rarely do his customers visit him, primarily, according to Goorissen, because he does not have a specific workshop for his Ruby Gamba. Instead, he assembles the parts for the electric viols at his recorder building workshop. In addition, Goorissen tells me he does not have the capital to invest in building a Ruby Gamba that has not been commissioned.\footnote{251} He must have three to four pre-orders for a viol before he can order the parts for one, thus the expected time to remain on his waiting list is about three to five years, even though his backlog of order is approximately only seven orders. Goorissen is hoping that by introducing the gothic rock model, he will generate enough interest to increase the number of pre-orders and reduce his turn-around time by several years.\footnote{252}

The questions surrounding this situation are different from before: with no showroom of sorts and no possibilities for visitation, Goorissen must address the potential of an impulse buy in another way. Also, his customer rapport is built through other source, including his network of musicians I discuss in chapter four. How do these approaches to sales alter the ways in which he interacts with the maker-instrument-player network? How do his financial restrictions mould his production and availability of instruments? Do any of these aspects of his interactions have impact on the Neo-Medievalist Gothic community, especially with the prototype of the gothic rock model remaining incomplete as of the writing of this thesis?

\footnote{251}{Phone conversation with Goorissen, 07 July, 2011.}  
\footnote{252}{Ibid. 07 July, 2011.}
Unravelling the maker’s role in the maker-instrument-player network has exposed certain aspects of the relations and interactions that occur between the actors and actants. The social life of the instruments linked with the social setting in which they are embraced is distinctly influenced by the social interactions with and by the maker of the instruments. The formulation of sub-genre variations within the Neo-Medievalist Goth scene lead to a range of aesthetic considerations the makers choose to address. The makers’ knowledge of performance techniques moulded the realization of their dialogues with players in both authoritative positioning and physical attributes of their instruments. Through a maker advocating their interpretation of historical accuracy, the development of an instrument bridged aesthetics of tradition and modernity, and in turn the instrument’s independent evolution redirected new additions of aesthetics back to the maker to be reintroduced into the instrument. Financial considerations have persuaded makers to reconsider limiting their production to commissioned pieces.

I hope to have demonstrated in this dissertation that the maker – his decisions, priorities, and aesthetic values – often has a profound impact on wider musical processes and performance practice, a point that up to now has been largely overlooked in music scholarship. The maker’s values, priorities, and intentions embodied in the instruments he creates, are in turn manifested as performance constraints, trends, or opportunities. Performers may uphold, nurture, or alter their presentations, styles, or sensibilities accordingly. Makers introduce changes in aesthetic potentials, facilitating their acceptability and desirability. This thesis singles out hand-crafted instrument builders who, by the nature of their trade, interact closely with performers, and the development of instruments’ social, cultural, and musical contributions, but this is merely a starting point for further investigation.
A new series of questions that can also be outlined utilizing the tool of Actor-Network Theory has now been revealed. Issues of authority, historical accuracy, integrity and craftsmanship have been raised. In addition, highlighting the paths of influence and evolution of concepts alongside manifestations of sensibilities and aesthetics can also been followed more clearly. Amended physical attributes of musical instruments most likely will affect performance techniques and subsequent genre trends, but to what degree, and what forms will these transformations take? Discussions of historical association and modern settings are prevalent throughout this thesis, but issues surrounding perceptions of cultural nostalgia and heritage present must be more fully addressed to clarify the influences on and from the makers.

ANT affords the researcher a shift in perspective that “flattens” the observation field such that connections become visible and questions answer themselves (Latour 2002:236). I suggest that further investigation of the maker-instrument-player network, observing it as recommended by ANT, can extend the research findings I present here tremendously. It will be necessary to do so in order to see the depth of influences introduced by economics and marketing, globalization of subcultural involvement, mass-production and parallel corporate-level activities to the bespoke instrument building vocations studied here, et cetera. This thesis represents a small fraction of the studies possible incorporating Actor-Network Theory and examining the social, cultural, and musical discourses that emerge thereof.

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253 This is a brief summary of ANT by Latour that runs throughout the entirety of Latour’s *Reassembling the Social* (2002). I paraphrase his summary here.
Appendix I  
Neo-Medievalist Gothic Bands

This is a selective list of bands regularly heard on radio stations and in night clubs in which Neo-Medievalist Gothic music is played. This is not to say these bands are or consider themselves to be Neo-Medievalist Gothic performers, although most of them do. Included are band names, the country in which they are based, and the primary style of Neo-Medievalist Gothic music they perform according to my delineations outlined in chapter two.

Key to Country Abbreviations (ISO 3166-1 alpha-2 codes)

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Key to Style Abbreviations:

- DAM  Dark Ambient Medieval
- EMT  Early Music/Traditional
- GEM  Gothic Early Music
- NMGM Neo-Medievalist Gothic Metal
- NMGR Neo-Medievalist Gothic Rock
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