



CALLIOPE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE



Speaking as the 'Other', 10-12 May 2021, Helsinki, Finland

Monday, May 10th

12.15 – 12.30: Conference begins

12.30 – 12.45: **Welcome address** by conference organisers Esha Sil and Karen Lauwers

12.45 – 14.45: **PANEL 1: Language learning, translation and epistolary practices**

Chair: Soile Ylivuori (University of Helsinki)

12.45 – 13.05: **Gert Huskens** (Université libre de Bruxelles and Ghent University), "Breaking the barriers in diplomacy. Dragomans, translators and interpreters and diplomatic practice in Egypt ca. 1800-1914"

Following Napoleon's failed expedition, Egypt slowly but steadily opened its doors for diplomatic representatives. Especially in the wake of the Congress of Vienna, during which modern diplomatic practice was codified, there was a noteworthy increase of Western diplomatic presence in Egypt. In contrast with the literature on the antiquarian activities of Western diplomats in Egypt or traditional studies on diplomatic relations with Egypt, this contribution puts the spotlight on actors who were able to climb the ranks of diplomacy thanks to their knowledge of non-Western languages.

On the one hand, this contribution aims to give a more encompassing view at translators, or dragomans as they were called in the Eastern Mediterranean, as a specific (socio-)professional group. Based on a *Nodogoat* database which includes around 1500 diplomatic actors active in Egypt during the long nineteenth century, I will test for example if the need for translators fueled the integration of local Egyptian actors into Western diplomatic corps. On the other hand, I will use the case of Belgian diplomatic presence in Egypt to demonstrate how a look at the agents providing translation services to Belgian diplomacy can deepen our understanding of the entanglements of this particular corps. While the network analysis on the inclusion of translators in Western diplomatic corps provides a more longitudinal and meta view on these actors during the long nineteenth century, the Belgian case will serve as a testing ground to address concepts such as cosmopolitanism and diplomatic culture. As such, I will try to give a more multi-angular view on diplomacy on the Egyptian scene.

Gert Huskens is currently enrolled as a doctoral candidate at the Université libre de Bruxelles (ULB) and Ghent University in the FWO and FNRS-funded EOS (Excellence of Science)-project "Pyramids and progress. Belgian expansionism and the making of Egyptology, 1830-1952." His PhD is titled "Brokering the Orient. An entangled history of Belgian diplomacy in Egypt, 1830-1914".

13.05 – 13.25: **Cécile Van den Avenne** (Sorbonne Nouvelle University), “Eloquence in wartime. Epistolary skills and agency. (Exploring a corpus of letters sent by Dahomean *tirailleurs* during World War I)”

My communication will be based on a corpus of 122 letters and postcards sent during World War I by 27 *tirailleurs* (indigenous infantry soldiers) from Dahomey (former Benin, part of the French Empire in Africa) to the governor of this colony. They are remarkable writings, because, on the one hand, in French colonial Africa, only a very small indigenous elite had the ability to write in French (and indeed those *tirailleurs* were part of the Dahomean local elites), and on the other hand, *tirailleurs* engaged in the Great War left very few written testimonies, as they were for the majority illiterate. This correspondence reached us because it was carefully preserved and archived by the recipient of the letters, Charles Noufflard (1872-1952), lieutenant-governor of Dahomey, who used them for propaganda purposes. Writing to the governor of the colony had specific issues for those young men, mostly personal issues but that could also have political implications. Indeed, in few cases, those letters serve a longer-term strategy, that of the recognition of the rights to French citizenship.

I will analyse the ethos discursively constructed in these texts, showing how the writers deal with the expected respect for the colonial hierarchy (which involve modesty) while building together a positive image of themselves, worth listening to (by showing epistolary skills, producing self-aggrandizement narratives, etc.). But these missives sent in time of war try also to share what was a traumatic experience for those young men sent in the trenches in the north of France, and therefore give us the opportunity to analyse a European war experience from the point of view of colonial intermediaries.

Cécile Van den Avenne is Professor of Sociolinguistics at Sorbonne Nouvelle University. Her research is focused on linguistic practices in the situations of colonial contact in French colonial Africa.

13.25 – 13.45: **Mikko Toivanen** (LMU München), “Between the spoken and the written word: transcription practices, speech ‘errors’ and ethnicity in mid-nineteenth-century colonial travel writing”

My paper examines the use of quoted speech in European travel accounts from Southeast Asia published around the middle of the nineteenth century. A careful analysis of when (and whose) speech was quoted directly, and how its phonetic characteristics were transcribed into printed form, elucidates the colonial power dynamics invested in the spoken word while also suggesting something about the fragility of that power. Of crucial importance for the analysis undertaken is the notion of erroneous speech: colonial travelogues regularly employed the trope of mispronunciations or mistakes made by indigenous and/or non-European-coded speakers of the language of the coloniser. On the other hand, to take one example, non-Dutch Europeans in the Dutch East Indies often communicated in a mix of inexpert French, English and German, yet their errors were rarely if ever directly quoted. Such errors were therefore essentially used as markers of ethnic difference. Yet there are two exceptions that complicate this picture. Firstly, sometimes lower-class Europeans (servants, sailors, workers) were also quoted with emphasis put on gaffes or dialects, suggesting a different kind of “otherness”. This was especially true of mixed-race Europeans, in whose case transcribed errors symbolised their cultural/racial degeneration and indicated prevalent European anxieties around miscegenation. Secondly, specific Asian elite individuals could claim social status and celebrity through their ability to adapt to the conversational norms of colonial society. One such example is the European-educated Javanese painter Raden Saleh, who liked to impress Europeans with his French and German, often quoted admiringly by visiting travellers. The construction of “speech errors” and use of phonetic quotes therefore worked to trace both acceptable

upward and unacceptable downward social mobilities as well as to reinforce the ambiguous boundaries of racial categories.

Mikko Toivanen is a historian working on colonial Southeast Asia and the global cultures of imperialism. Having defended his PhD at the European University Institute in 2019, he is currently a postdoctoral research fellow at the Munich Centre for Global History (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität). His current research focuses on Singapore and Batavia, examining the development of urban culture and notions of public space of these two colonial capitals in the second half of the nineteenth century.

13.45 – 14.05: **Jakob Zollmann** (WZB Social Science Center, Berlin), “Language (learning) and Desperation. Albert Memmi and the Challenges of Speaking in Colonial Tunis (1920s–1930s)”

Based on the autobiographically informed writing (in novels and academic publications) of Tunisian sociologist Albert Memmi, my paper will analyze the meaning of language learning, hearing and speaking in a polyglot urban colonial environment that was characterized by extreme forms of exclusion and in-group thinking. The persona in Memmi's novel 'Pillar of Salt' (1953), recapitulating his growing-up in a poor Jewish neighborhood of Tunis in the 1920s, leaves no doubt about the manifold power hierarchies inscribed in the cityscape that were not only visible, but audible. Growing up in colonial Tunis, in the fifth decade of formal French colonial rule, indigenous children were constantly 'speaking as the other' whenever they crossed into different neighborhoods. Taking as its 'hero' the weakest of all colonial subalterns, the 'uneducated' child of poor indigenous parents who barely or not at all spoke the colonizer's language, the novel describes from the child's perspective the challenges of learning how to speak in multiple languages for multiple environs. It also offers insights into individual experiences of language learning (that could well end up in desperation) as well as the growing understanding that the ability to cope with different language environs may be considered a way out of economic misery. For the colonized to be able to understand the colonial institutions and to be understood by the 'imperial European ear' was at first a daily requirement for an aspiring child and became later a means of resistance. However, language learning could equally result in (cultural) estrangement from an indigenous background as the hero of the 'Pillar of Salt' noticed once he felt the need to speak to his neighbors but realized that his mother-tongue vocabulary is failing him – what remains is silence, embarrassment.

Jakob Zollmann read history, philosophy, and law in Berlin, Paris, and San Francisco. He has taught at the Free University Berlin and the University of Namibia, Windhoek, where he also undertook research. He was Visiting Fellow at the German Historical Institutes in Paris and London, and is currently researcher at the Center for Global Constitutionalism of the WZB Berlin Social Science Center. His research focuses on the history of international law and on the (legal and social) history of colonial Africa.

14.05 – 14.45: **Discussion**

14.45 – 15.10: break

15.10 – 16.30: **PANEL 2: Subalternity on display**

Chair: Janne Salminen (University of Helsinki)

15.10 – 15.35: **Diana Natermann** (Leiden University), “The Intentional Muting of the African Other in German Colonial Photography (1910-1911)”

Only recently has the awareness of the German colonial past entered national debates within Germany on a wider scale. The increasing awareness of racist and stereotypical depictions of non-white people, amongst others visible in 2020 by the removal of statues and street names that glorify former colonisers, provided ample material for public discussions. Current uprisings also stem, in my view, from a decade- and century-long silencing of formerly colonised peoples. This paper aims to approach the forceful return of these issues into German national consciousness as the result of the long oblivion of the country’s colonial past and how it is linked to a depiction of the silenced African Other.

The aim is to investigate the origins, expansion, and stereotypical endurance of racialised images of non-whites as “Others” by returning to colonial photography. The juxtaposition of white and non-white informs the reader/viewer of a specific sender-receiver-dichotomy that is based on the assumption that people create their identities in line with and in contrast to others. Photography as a modern medium and its inclusion in colonial expeditions during High Imperialism contributed to shaping an image of central-African peoples around the world. As such, German colonial ego-documents have contributed to the formation and distribution of prejudicial views of other people(s) whilst simultaneously negating the photographed Other a voice of his/her own. This project examines German colonial entanglements to sub-Saharan regions, by example of a colonial expedition from 1910-11 known as the Mecklenburg Expedition: a travel group that went to Bioko, Cameroon, the Chad, Congo, and Sudan. The choice of this African-German case study allows a hands-on approach with the muting of the African subaltern in German visualisations of Othering.

For this purpose, the study of colonial visual ego-documents is done, as they give access to less polished insights into socio-cultural developments of modern eras as witnessed from below, thereby allowing a micro-historical approach. In this sense, colonial photographs are used to offer windows to past discourses and ideas by allowing the historian to tell a version that differs from official history. Most importantly, the analysis of said racialised colonial images that muted the colonial subaltern can give insights into current developments where formerly silent groups are now raising their voices.

Diana Natermann (Assistant Professor, Leiden University) is a (post)colonial and global historian who focusses on African-European trajectories of the 19th and 20th centuries. Her expertise includes whiteness studies, biographical research, visual history (esp. photography), women’s and masculinity studies, memory studies, the interplay between culture and politics within Europe and decolonised states, as well as the influence of international organisations on heritage-related policy matters (eg. restitution). Her book “Pursuing Whiteness in the Colonies. Private Memories from the Congo Free State and German East Africa (1884-1914)” has been shortlisted for the Waterloo Centre for German Studies 2018 book prize.

15.35 – 16.00: **Karina Lukin** (University of Helsinki), “Provincializing Human Zoos (1911)”

In 1911, a multi-ethnic company travelled from North-Western Russia to then famous Hagenbeck Zoo in Hamburg. During their visit in Hamburg during the summer and later also in Berlin, the company represented Nenets culture and reindeer herding practices. During their shows, they took part in what has been called human zoos. Described as representing one of the strongest forms of power and violence pursued by European and American colonialism, the human zoos exhibited peoples from around the world so that Europeans could watch them and be entertained not only in zoos, but also in amusement

parks and world exhibitions. The phenomenon itself is quite well studied from the European and postcolonial points of view; lately, there has also been some research from the point of view of the natives, who performed or were exhibited.

In my paper, I would like to discuss the extremely poorly studied case of the above mentioned company and read the European-centred data, such as Hamburg Zoo photography, advertisements and exhibition booklets and newspaper articles together with the songs and prose narratives recorded from Nenets and Komi participants of the company. I am firstly interested to discuss the possibility of provincializing the European narrative around the human zoos through careful reading and listening of Nenets and Komi folklore. Secondly, I would like to look at the possibilities reflect on the Russian and European imperialist practices and discourses through this case that illuminates how the imperial classification in Russia merged or were entangled in Germany, but also how the imperialisms shared certain central qualities.

Karina Lukin is an Academy of Finland researcher focusing on oral and written expressive culture of the Nenets. She is currently working on disentangling the complex and nested imperial relations in the history of collecting and displaying Nenets folklore, culture and heritage.

16.00 – 16.30: Discussion

16.30 – 17.00: break

17.00 – 18.00: KEYNOTE speech by Sophie White, Professor, University of Notre Dame
(40-minute presentation and 20-minute discussion)

Session to be introduced and chaired by Ludovic Marionneau (CALLIOPE, University of Helsinki).

"Testifying While Black: Recovering Voices of the Enslaved"

In eighteenth-century New Orleans, the legal testimony of some 150 enslaved women and men was meticulously recorded and preserved, down to the inclusion of dialogue, of turns of speech, of metaphors, sometimes even passages in creole. Interrogated in criminal trials as defendants, victims, and witnesses, they moved beyond the questions posed and answered instead with stories about themselves, charting their movement between West African, indigenous, and colonial cultures; pronouncing their moral and religious values; and registering their responses to labour, to violence, and, above all, to the intimate romantic and familial bonds they sought to create and protect. Their words created riveting narratives that constitute a precious repository of voices of enslaved individuals in colonial America, testimony that was anchored in the deponent's own experiences and ways of knowing, that was autobiographical because it expressed how individuals looked at their world and how they evaluated it and made sense of it.

Tuesday, May 11th

10.45 – 11.00: Day 2 begins

11.00 – 12.20: **PANEL 3: Alternative vocal articulations in the 20th century**

Chair: Friederike Lüpke (University of Helsinki)

11.00 – 11.25: **Mazuba Kapambwe** (independent researcher), “The Significance of Amzariwoch, the traditional Ethiopian War Cry in Maaza Mengiste’s novel *The Shadow King*”

From October 3, 1935 to May 1936, Italy invaded Ethiopia in what became known as the Second Italo-Ethiopian war. In order to motivate the men and women who fought on the battlefield, war criers, called *Amzariwoch* were used. “Their simultaneous marginality and itinerancy position them as astute commentators on Ethiopian life, articulating the censored, demystifying the taboo, resisting easy consolations” (Getachew, 2020). In Maaza Mengiste’s retelling of the war in her book *The Shadow King*, the war criers play a prominent role.

This paper will examine the various war cries used in the Second Italo-Ethiopian war as portrayed in the novel, such as the pre-battle cry *The shilela* which Mengiste says was used by her grandmother who “raised the rifle above her head and sang *shilela*—one of the songs that warriors sing just before battle, when they meld their fearlessness and fighting prowess into melody and rhythm” (Mengiste, 2019). In *The Shadow King*, Mengiste uses the form of the Greek chorus to inject the songs of women supporting and urging on their men. The Boston Review states that “Mengiste’s chorus is a roving lyrical narrator who punctures the narrative with scenes from the past, overhears intimate exchanges, suggests alternative interpretations, and, above all, carries the burden of collective memory” (Getachew, 2020). By using this format of storytelling, Mengiste centers the history of war on Africans and African women, in resistance to the colonial narrative which is dominated by the Italian experience. In this way, she provides an alternative global history, rejecting the notion that African history is separate from world history.

Mazuba Kapambwe graduated with a Master of Arts degree in Africana Studies in August 2020 from the University at Albany (State University of New York). She also received her Bachelor of Arts in Africana Studies from the same university. Mazuba is interested in African literature written by women. Her thesis was titled ‘Women at War: A Comparative Analysis of the experiences and roles of women as war heroes during the Biafra War, The Second Italo-Ethiopian war and the Somali Civil War’. She has spoken at conferences at York University and University at Albany.

11.25 – 11.50: **Elise Mazurié** (CRH/EHESS, Paris), “‘Insolent to our [European] ears’: Moroccan tirailleurs’ military band in post-Nazi Germany between French imperialist exhibitionism and intercultural spaces, 1957-1958”

“This music sounded insolent, at least to our [European] ears,” (Schwarzwälder Bote 04-05.05. 1957, Stadtarchiv Villingen-Schwenningen 1.16 2079). These are the words used in an article in a local paper of the Black Forest covering the military band of the 3rd *bataillon* of the 4th *Régiment de Tirailleurs Marocains*’ performance for the traditional *Aïd* feast. These soldiers, stationed in the small town of Villingen as part of the French Army within the NATO forces (Miot 2016, Adler 2013) found themselves in a paradox situation as “subaltern occupiers” (Spivak 1988). Their status was challenged by the ongoing decolonisation process, as Moroccan soldiers in the French Army were gradually transferred to the Moroccan army (Wanaïm 2014) following Morocco’s independence 1956. In the context of a

“hierarchy reversal”, they were in a position of military and symbolic power over the local German population, challenging the racial and gendered order (Schissler 2011) of recently defeated Germany which was still involved in a process of denazification, but also the traditional metropole-colony dichotomy (Cooper and Stoler, 1997), leading to a “colonial” trouble (Butler 1990). The *Aïd* celebrations played an ambiguous role; while they were encouraged and promoted by the French Army, thus representing an unique occasion for the Moroccan soldiers to mingle with selected German guests, they also confined the soldiers symbolically to an ascribed identity and physically to the space of the garrison, which was part common strategy of French and German officials to avoid any possible encounters in “shared spaces” (Glöckner 2018). The local press coverage also was paradox, reinforcing colonial stereotypes both positive and negative, and confining the soldiers to a supposedly authentic colonial representation, their descriptions focused on the five-senses experience of the *Aïd* presenting Orientalist fragrances (Saïd 1978), and the article quoted in the title of this proposition ended on the sentence: “This music stays in your head like an earworm, despite of the typing machine sound”. However, one can argue that those articles also functioned as a “shared space by procuration”, and that strategies developed by the soldiers enabled them to make use of their agency.

Élise Mazurié is currently preparing a doctoral project under the direction of Prof. Alessandro Stanziani (CRH, EHESS) on colonial soldiers stationed as members of the French Army in the French Occupation Zone in Germany after writing her Master thesis about Moroccan soldiers in the garrison of Villingen in the Black Forest under the supervision of Prof. Nancy Green (CRH, EHESS) and Prof. Edgar Wolfrum (Historisches Seminar, Universität Heidelberg). She holds a BA from Sciences Po Paris, European trilingual campus of Nancy and a French-German MA in History. She studied in Nancy, Dublin, Heidelberg and Paris and held a scholarship from the German Academic Exchange Service for the academic year 2018-2019.

11.50 – 12.20: **Discussion**

12.20 – 12.50: break

12.50 – 14.20: **PANEL 4: Notions of race and nation in subaltern discursive spaces**

Chair: Janne Lahti (University of Helsinki)

12.50 – 13.10: **Rosa Beunel** (King's College London), "Foundational Creole Narrative: Paul et Virginie and Race in the Old Colonies"

France's “*vieilles*” colonies are often overlooked in scholarship examining the French Empire, yet they were - and many of them still are - spaces from which Frenchness and French ideals were articulated. In colonies like Mauritius and Reunion in the Indian Ocean, new societies emerged where Europeans lived in close contact with their Black and Indian slaves and often depended on their knowledge and their ingenuity to survive. The existence of these White Creole societies both defined and defied France's attitude towards race; and their narratives had a long lasting impact on these islands' imaginary both locally and on the continent. One of the most important narratives of this kind is *Paul et Virginie* (1788) written by Bernardin de Saint-Pierre and set on the Isle of France (Mauritius). Before falling out of grace in the 1850s, the novel had known a staggering success across the French Empire and beyond; and its eponym characters still capture audiences' imagination today. In Mauritius, the novel became a foundational legend, and it continues to hold a significant place in Mauritian culture and literature. Examining the text's foundational function, this paper seeks to reinstate the role the novel plays in the French and Francophone colonial imagination and its conceptions of race in the empire's insular colonies. Firstly, the presentation will show how in using elements such as letters, ship and shipwrecks, natural catastrophe and maroon slaves to produce the plot of his pastoral novel, Bernardin created an

archive of literary tropes through which islands, their populations, and their relationship with continents are still imagined. Secondly, it will explore how Virginie and Paul's way of life and their unconsummated incestual love story foregrounded the issue of reproduction in island's imaginings as these characters concurrently allude to the taboo of miscegenation and the inescapability of creolisation.

Rosa Beunel is PhD student in the English and French departments of King's College London, under the supervision of Prof A J. Kabir. Her doctoral research engages with the burgeoning scholarship on the Indian Ocean in relocating the Caribbean creolisation theory within the work of authors from the Mascarenes islands.

13.10 – 13.30: **Imran Parray** (University of Delhi), "Between 'colonial' governmentality and 'oriental' despotism: Metaphor, satire, and humour in early twentieth-century periodical press in princely India"

Princely states of the nineteenth and early twentieth century colonial South Asia were realms of double colonization. Voices of the indigenous populations were often subdued and governed by the hegemonic discourses and autocratic policies of the British colonial state and kingly rule. This paper explores the discursive space of satire and humour in early periodical press as a critical apparatus through which local intellectuals sought to create a separate agency distinct from both princely and colonial logics of politics and culture. It shows how a variety of literary devices allowed early newspaper editors to articulate complex socio-economic and political ideas – predicated on an indigenous conception of 'mulk' (nation) and often critical of both colonial state and princely durbar – and connect with wider publics in the verbal-ideological world of the era that resonated with secular and cosmopolitan Urdu literary culture. This mode of cultural production, it is argued, served as in what Gaye Tuchman's calls a strategic ritual that helped editors to at once evade suppression and forge a trans-regional connection with analogous socio-political movements across the third world. At a more theoretical level, the paper, by focusing on princely Kashmir state and drawing on rich archival material, thus extends the question of non-European 'otherness' to princely India (a non-Indian 'other') and argues that the 'otherness' that was articulated in native states was in opposition to both the British colonial state and princely political power. It further goes on to demonstrate how early editors sought to create new power relations that were closely interlocked in the fields of politics, religion, and literature, and how the technology or print itself created new local power configurations beyond the colonial and princely political circles. The implications for such crystallisation of power are theorised.

Imran Parray is Assistant Professor at Department of Communication and Journalism, Institute of Home Economics, University of Delhi. His research interests include media history, media anthropology, postcolonial media theory, and new media.

13.30 – 13.50: **Esha Sil** (CALLIOPE, University of Helsinki), "Speaking as the Eurasian 'Other': Henry Derozio, Antony Firingi, and a Creole Bengali Modernity"

My paper will engage with the embodied vocal articulations of a "creole Bengali" modernity via the nineteenth-century Eurasian "other." It will deploy as its contextual premise the transoceanic encounters of island-like enclaves along the Hooghly river in Bengal: these enclaves, including Bandel, Chandernagore, Chinsurah and Serampore, developed rapidly into Portuguese, French, Dutch and Danish settlements between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, entering into complex inter-imperial dialogues with the British colonial capital, Calcutta. My analysis of the intricate subaltern discourses constituting such entangled histories and their creolized life-worlds, will be predicated upon the vocal axes of two Eurasian identity-narratives – those of Henry Derozio (1809-1831), a Calcutta-

based Anglo-Indian poet and intellectual, of mixed Portuguese ancestry, and Antony Firingi (1786-1836), a Portuguese-Bengali *kobiyal* songster from the French comptoir, Chandernagore.

I will demonstrate how the interstitial vocal agency of the Eurasian “other” radically reconfigures a colonial Bengali space-time to challenge the normative prevalence of the “British” versus “Indian” binary – a binary which has for a long time characterized the colonial historiography of Bengal and India, marginalizing India’s other European cross-cultural encounters, as well as the liminal histories of those who occupied “a space between ‘Indian’ and ‘British’.” It is the creole subalternity of such “in-between” Eurasian story-spaces that I propose to investigate through a close-reading of Derozio’s poems and Firingi’s songs. My paper will accordingly mobilize the embodied vocality of Derozio and Firingi’s creole Bengali identities to posit the Eurasian “other” as a speaking subject, by venturing, in Ananya Jahanara Kabir’s terms, beyond “the *territorial* and *centralizing* perspective,” which has hitherto determined Indian history’s “peninsular heartland complex.” To that end, my re-evaluation of Derozio’s poems and Firingi’s songs will adopt a transoceanic approach, interspersed with relevant theories of sound: I will thus establish how the vocal axes of their Eurasian modernities harness the dense transoceanic synergies of the Hooghly enclaves to articulate an alternative subaltern poetics of creolizing Bengal.

Esha Sil received her doctorate from the University of Leeds; this was followed by her postdoctoral fellowship under the Zukunftsphilologie program at Freie Universität Berlin. Esha is currently working as a postdoctoral researcher, at the University of Helsinki, for the ‘London-Calcutta’ axis of the ERC-funded CALLIOPE project. She has also served as a visiting research fellow in the Department of English at King’s College London, from 2019-2020. Esha’s work reappraises the discursive production of South Asian and Bengali modernities, via a wide range of areas, including everyday language practices, post-Partition psychoanalysis, global capitalism, folk literature, creole subjectivities, sound studies, and vocal political cultures in nineteenth-century Bengal and Britain.

13.50 – 14.20: **Discussion**

14.20 – 14.40: break

14.40 – 16.40: **PANEL 5: Female voices and colonial bodies**

Chair: Liesl Yamaguchi (Fulbright Finland Foundation Fellow, CALLIOPE, University of Helsinki)

14.40 – 15.00: **Rhitama Basak** (Delhi University, India), “De-constructing the Gaze: The Self and the Other in Women’s Travel Writing (to and from Colonial Europe)”

Moments of *otherisation* can be located at points of colonial contact where an overpowering male gaze looks at/ constructs/ *inferiorises* Europe’s Non-Christian, Non-European colonial Other. However, moments of rupture in this gaze (often accompanied by the phenomenon of the gaze being returned) can be noted in the works of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and Krishnabhabini Das, as both the writers encounter and engage with their colonial other(s) – communicating this encounter to their respective homelands (one being the colonisers’, the other being colonised). Taking cognisance of the remarkably less publication of women’s account of the other, specifically through travel writing, the Turkish Embassy Letters and A Bengali Lady in England by Montagu and Das respectively, present a domain of understanding colonial contact through women’s perspectives. Both the accounts being written in first person (the former being an epistolary novel and the latter using autobiographical mode), contribute in locating the woman writer as the Self having a certain agency to depart from pre-existing colonial constructs of gazing at the Other. Lady Montagu’s account of the “Oriental” women at a Turkish bath marks a distinct point of departure from the West European colonial construct of “Oriental” femininity as noted in the Saidian discourse. The bath, for Montagu, appears as a space marked by “intellectual

exchanges" – an idea *invisibilised* in the pre-existing descriptions of femininity in travel writing by European male authors. On the other hand, Das, traveling to England from colonised Bengal in the 19th century, advises her Bengali readers to look beyond the "prejudices" and explore the English (coloniser's) culture through her writing. The paper would like to trace how both the women writers explore, encounter, and also, critique the *Self* in the light of the *Other*, deconstructing the pre-existing colonial gaze (integral to Europe's engagement with "Non-Europe" in the "Enlightenment" years); and paving way for socio-cultural inclusiveness in the process. The paper would locate the nuances of the Enlightenment notion of autobiographical "I" in narrative-making, by exploring the "I" in women's writing from both Europe's colonial centre and margin.

A student of Comparative Literature, **Rhitama Basak** has just completed her Master's Degree at the Department of Comparative Literature, Jadavpur University (Kolkata, India). As a former Erasmus+ scholar at the Faculty of Letters, UBB (Cluj-Napoca, Romania), she has engaged with Cultural Studies and Area Studies. Rhitama has received a Bachelor of Arts degree in Comparative Literature from Jadavpur University, India. She has studied Latin American Studies as her Area-Course for Master and engaged with South Asian languages and literatures. She has presented academic papers in National and International seminars at her home university and other institutions (including webinars in recent times). Rhitama is currently working on her academic paper for a publication due in 2021.

15.00 – 15.20: **Rehnuma Sazzad** (Institute of Commonwealth Studies, School of Advanced Study, University of London), "Colonial Modernity in India, Woman-Centrism, and a Feminist Utopia: Begum Rokeya through the Lens of Gayatri C. Spivak"

My paper reads the groundbreaking manifesto for women's freedom, 'Sultana's Dream' (1905), by the early twentieth-century Bengali activist and educationist, Begum Rokeya Sakhawat Hossain, for illustrating that the upside down world presented here exists beyond established Anglophone analyses of the metropole and colony. Hossain's belief that without intellectual freedom women's rights and responsibilities remain a far cry is manifested through her (re)configuration of the zenana (secluded women's quarters) as the *mardana*, where men are immured to the private space while women rule the public arena. War, oppression, and violence are driven away from the utopian 'Ladyland' through women's access to all branches of knowledge and higher sensibilities, and technological advancement like solar power-derived energy is utilized in the service of the ordinary people. Interestingly, Hossain's emancipatory vision is rendered through Sister Sara's mediation. This reminds us that the British in India were deeply curious about the colonised men's zealously guarded zenana against the rulers' gaze, where mainly women missionaries were granted proper access. Therefore, Sister Sara's presence is the author's way of signifying how both self and other struggle against the ratiocination of subjugating narratives.

Unlike the British administrator of the area, Sir Hugh McPherson, who found Hossain's appropriation of colonial modernity 'delightful' and her English prose 'perfect,' Spivak (1997) views the reversal of 'the woman-less society' as an 'attempt to figure forth the world's broken and shifting alphabet,' which results from incomplete decolonization. As opposed to the indigenous male elite as the representative voice of the other, Hossain depicts how the structurally disempowered women are capable of piercing unequal power relations, be they patriarchal and/or colonial. Both language and imagination strengthen Hossain's agency to emerge from her subaltern position through articulating the colonized women's desired political representation. If the phantasmagoria seemed overdetermined, the awakening kindled by the writing was essential for making women's historical inaudibility audible to the imperial/dominant ear.

Rehnuma Sazzad is an Associate Fellow at the Institute of Commonwealth Studies, School of Advanced Study, University of London. Her research interest lies in the exploration of cultural identities related to the decolonised, diasporic, and indigenous realms [her first monograph, *Edward Said's Concept of Exile: Identity and Cultural Migration in the Middle East* (2017), adds new depths to discourses of resistance, home and identity]. She is currently working on her second monograph reflecting on linguistic nationalism in decolonised South Asia.

15.20 – 15.40: **Himanshu Kumar** (Hansraj College, University of Delhi), "The Colonised Body in Nineteenth-Century Bengal"

British colonial men, male Indian social scientists as well as criminal and medical experts used their positions to socially ostracize and oppress women who they felt did not fit into the social mould that they deemed acceptable. Beginning with the 1860 Indian Penal Code and extending through the middle of the twentieth-century, women's bodies became increasingly regulated and criminalized through such laws as the Contagious Diseases Act and exploited through graphically depicted examinations for abortion. The colonial investigation of Indian sexuality was premised on the "fact" of deviant female sexual desire. The Act stipulated that women had to identify their caste on the cards they were issued after registration. The federal government debated whether the police in Bengal could legally carry out genital examination on women "who were accused of undergoing abortion and infanticide". A magistrate felt that the false cases of rape and procuring abortion would largely increase without compulsory genital examinations of women. Another argued that securing consent from women for the examination could cripple the "administration of justice". The introduction of the act led to an epistemic shift where Indian sexual practices became a primary object of knowledge for the British colonial state. In the process, women were described, put on trial, scrutinised in public view, forcibly indentured, imprisoned, and examined against their will.

Extending the paradigms of Subaltern Studies, this paper will attempt to provide a perspective on the disjunctive forms of representation that signified colonised bodies in Nineteenth-Century Bengal. Through different arenas, it will show how representations constituted and were reflective of the power relationships between upper and lower castes, in which the former reinstated their dominance.

Himanshu Kumar has been working as an Assistant Professor in the Department of English, Hansraj College (University of Delhi) for a decade, teaching students at both undergraduate and postgraduate level. His main research interests are Indian Classical Literature and Translation Studies. He is also a trilingual poet and translator.

15.40 – 16.00: **Geetha Ramanathan** (West Chester University), "Gendered Historiography and Colonial Euro-Modernist Aesthetics"

Women, as historical subjects, and indeed in realist guise, enter the immense body of criticism on the modernist colonial novel and more recently on the twenty first century post-colonial novel only glancingly.¹ This paper explores the intersection between modernism and gendered historiography in two colonial instances: the French in Algeria, and the Spanish/British in Latin America.

The paper studies the construction of history in four fictional texts: Albert Camus's *The Stranger*, Kamel Daoud's *The Meursault Investigation*, Joseph's Conrad's *Nostromo* and José Altamirano's *The Secret History of Costaguana*. Mainstream critics of euro-modernism have claimed that this aesthetics excludes or at the very best occludes realism. And yet the absence of historical detail in Camus's novel does not eliminate history but displaces it. To the contrary, Conrad's *Nostromo* has proponents

¹ Geetha Ramanathan, *Locating Gender in Modernism: The Outsider Woman* (New York: Routledge, 2012).

persuaded of the richness of historical detail. The protagonist of Daoud's novel, Haroun, challenges the narrative; here, the larger western narrative of Algeria's history as presented in *The Stranger*; however, José Altamirano in Vázquez's novel invokes an Angel of History that parodies a teleology of history.

The paper works through the paths the post-colonial novelists take to the writing of history; challenging euro-modernist aesthetics, and the elision of the colonized female. All the texts identify colonizer and colonized women as enigmas; yet, there are significant divergences from this conception in the post-colonial novels. These novels use local aesthetics that diverge from euro-modernism to offer a different view of the woman in history. Using literary tropes that historians have availed of to interpret historiography, I develop the concept of gendered historiography to understand the access women are afforded to write history.

Geetha Ramanathan is former Professor of Comparative Literature at West Chester University. She is the author of among others *Locating Gender in Modernisms: The Female Outsider* (New York: Routledge, 2016), *The Female in German Modernisms: The Visual Turn* (Stuttgart: WiSa Ibidem, 2019), and *Kathleen Collins: The Black Essai Film* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2020). She is currently working on a manuscript on the topic of this paper entitled, "Insurgent/Resurgent Modernisms."

16.00 – 16.40: **Discussion**

16.40 – 17.00: break

17.00 – 18.00: **KEYNOTE speech by Arthur Asseraf**, lecturer, University of Cambridge
(40-minute presentation and 20-minute discussion)
Session to be introduced and chaired by Karen Lauwers.

18.00 – 18.20: break

18.20 – 19.20: **SPECIAL SESSION: Le Thinnai Kreyol with Ari Gautier and Ananya Jahanara Kabir** (a project supported by the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation and King's College London)
Chairs and discussants: Esha Sil and Karen Lauwers (CALLIOPE Conference Team)

Wednesday, May 12th

10.45 – 11.00: Day 3 begins

11.00 – 12.30: **PANEL 6: The hills and the plains: alternative appropriations of space**

Chair: Xenia Zeiler (University of Helsinki)

11.00 – 11.20: **Athira Sreedevi Prasenani** (University of Hyderabad), “Scholarship, Caste and the Histories of Sanskrit Learning in Kerala”

This paper attempts to comprehend the enigma of a regional history of learning that was characteristic of the present Kerala region in the south of India. Contrary to perceptions about Sanskrit being alien and imposed, there existed parallel traditions of Sanskrit learning alongside a stringent caste-based hierarchy of learning in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries. Distinctive caste groups engaged differently with Sanskrit in their livelihood practices, art performances and intellectual endeavours. The ‘*avarna*’ (lower caste) Sanskrit learning traditions, largely considered a legacy of the Buddhist and the Jain influences over the region, existed as exceptions to the upper caste hold over Sanskrit. Though the ‘*avarna*’ traditional practices like healing necessitated learning Sanskrit, higher Sanskrit learning was out of bounds as neither the texts nor the higher learning institutions were approachable. Accentuated by the socio-cultural changes set in by consolidation of the British rule in the region, there arose a renewed interest in Sanskrit learning and inclusion of diverse castes in the training of ‘*sastra*’-s or select intellectual disciplines. Focusing on the late nineteenth century moment, I argue that there was a rupture and an opening in the history of Sanskrit learning in the region, in turn a culmination of divergent historical trajectories ranging from the Buddhist influence to Orientalism. The epistemic changes inhered in this phenomenon created a rupture from the past learning practices as it created an opening for the emergence of lower caste Sanskrit scholarship and even led to the rise of an ‘*avarna*’ Sanskrit Pandit named K P Karuppan in the early twentieth century. Drawing from the biographies and self-writings of the scholars who traversed this transitional period, I trace these epistemic changes and argue that ‘*avarna*’ scholarly figures like Karuppan emerged at this historical juncture from the cracks of these divergent traditions of Sanskrit learning.

Athira Sreedevi Prasenani is a PhD student in the Department of Political Science in University of Hyderabad.

11.20 – 11.40: **Brinda Kumar** (Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi), “An Abor Subject in Colonial Northeast India?”

The Abor subject created by colonial codification processes in the nineteenth century maintained a distinct position in the study of tribes in the Northeast Frontier of India. In the period between the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries, this category subsumed tribes constituted as defiant and outside the control of effective British authority. Originally coined by the Ahom ruling dynasty in Assam, the term was employed by colonial authorities till the first decade of the twentieth century to denote certain tribes who inhabited the areas that comprise the present-day state of Arunachal Pradesh. The Abor in particular was represented as especially ‘savage’ and dangerous in comparison to the other tribal communities of the region, and inhabited areas classed as inaccessible and isolated. The impossibility of communication between the colonizer and the colonized was premised upon deductions based on the nature of their speech and language. As a subaltern community on the fringes of empire, one finds only written and visual material prepared by the colonizer in question. Modes of resistance or

of life in general were categorised as 'unruly'. Representations continuously infantilised these communities especially relying on performative aspects of bodily demeanour. It is of interest to examine how the hills- plains divide (in itself a colonial construct) sought to order the indigenous subaltern other in regions constructed as frontiers and how this division was frequently portrayed as oppositional. The history of these communities indicates otherwise. How were subaltern articulations and access to power mediated by categories like the Abor? How is all of this complicated by the very uncertainty of the category Abor? Finally, how does one then historicize the process whereby the 'naturalness' of identities are created? These are some of the questions I will address in the paper.

Brinda Kumar is an MPhil student in Modern History at the Centre for Historical Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. Her research interests include histories of frontiers and borderlands, focusing on Northeast India, intersections of gender and history, migration studies and tribes in history among others. She is particularly interested in colonial interventions in the creation of categories in the North East Frontier.

11.40 – 12.00: **Rubani Yumkhaibam** (independent researcher), "The Poetic Other: Manipur in the Writings of the British."

Manipur, a kingdom in the Eastern Frontier of India, became a British Protectorate after the Khongjom War of 1891. However, British influence in the Manipuri affairs had begun with the First Anglo-Burmese War 1824-26, when the Britishers provided military help to the Manipuri prince Gambhir Singh to restore his kingdom. Captain Gordon, the first Political Agent, served in Manipur from 1835 to 1844. In the following years, many Political Agents wrote about Manipur. These writings were primarily meant to map Manipur for military and administrative advantages for the Britishers. This is a process of production of colonial knowledge of the native.

A concern commonly found in the British writings on Manipur is the geographical description of Manipur, its deep valley, and the mountainous tracts connecting to the valley. Administrative reports, personal accounts, and ethnography were written to explore Manipur. For example, Ethel Grimwood's (1891), wife of Political Agent St. Claire Grimwood, account of Manipur wrote about the wilderness of the region, the beauty of the Residency, and the natives that she variously described as dirty, naive, and sometimes cunning. On the other hand, Pemberton's (1835) account gave detailed cartography intending to facilitating Britain's military ventures in Manipur. The spectrum is predominantly aimed at writing 'What is Manipur?'

The paper explores the construction of Manipur's wild, rugged beauty as a way of 'othering' the land. The geographical exploration of Manipur accompanies descriptions of brave and well-built natives (MacCulloch, 1859), although lacking the sophistication of British subjects (Johnston, 1896), and the native women that almost behave like 'pet monkeys' (Grimwood, 1891). What transpires in this body of writing is the interplay of humans and nature in attempts to establish an epistemology for Manipur. However, Manipur was neither the heat and dust that India was for the Britishers nor the diseased, indolent body of the colonial imaginary. Manipur was not a (colonial) ambiguity, she was a poetic failure for the Britishers. The paper subsequently examines writings of the British Political Agents that attempted at archiving Manipur.

Rubani Yumkhaibam obtained her PhD in Sociology from University of Delhi. Her doctoral thesis was on the emergence of transgender movement in Manipur, Northeast India. Her research interests include Queer Anthropology, Folklore Studies, Anthropology of Muslim Societies.

12.00 – 12.30: **Discussion**

12.30 – 12.50: break

12.50 – 14.20: **PANEL 7: The imperial ear**

Chair: Lotta Vuorio (University of Helsinki)

12.50 – 13.10: **Oleksandr Polianichev** (Södertörn University, Stockholm), “Imperial Ears: Soundscape and the Civilizing Mission in mid-nineteenth-century South Caucasia”

In my paper, I would like to focus on a particular aspect of the Russian empire’s engagement with the South Caucasus in the middle of the nineteenth century—acoustic experiences of representatives of the Russian colonial community in Tiflis. Although rarely seen as part of the broader European colonial endeavor, the Russian imperial presence in the Caucasus shared many commonalities with other European empires in their overseas possessions. More often than not, bureaucrats, militaries, and educated elites in Georgia regarded the newly annexed domain as a semi-tropical colony that would serve as a supplier of southern commodities and a market for manufactured goods from interior Russia. Concomitant with that, Russian newcomers perceived themselves as the bearers of the civilizing mission that was intended to bring European habits, culture, and taste to what they saw as an essential Orient. Ego-documents, left by imperial sojourners, expressed their distaste for many of the “oriental” features of the realm they found themselves in. One of the most conspicuous characteristics of the local life, described with particular disgust, was the native tradition of musical performances, epitomized by a wind instrument, *zurna*. The idea that the East not only looked and smelled ugly, but also was unpleasant for imperial European ears, with its unwelcome “savage” sounds, was stressed on every occasion. The construction of a pompous Tiflis theatre in the Moorish style was meant to refine the musical tastes of the native people, while at the same time to accommodate their liking for Oriental aesthetic. Over time, however, as the members of the Russian community increasingly more associated themselves with their new adopted home and, in many respects, were “going native,” they came to see (or, rather, hear) *zurna* as a symbol of local distinctiveness that they themselves shared and took pride in.

Oleksandr Polianichev has his Ph.D. from the European University in Florence (2017). Currently, he is a postdoctoral researcher at the Centre for Baltic and East European Studies at Södertörn University, Stockholm. His interests include imperial and colonial history, with a focus on the Caucasus and Central Asia under the Russian rule.

13.10 – 13.30: **Sabrina Nordlund** (Lakehead University), “Scottish imperialism in Canada”

The colonisation of Indigenous Peoples in Canada is consistently studied as an act of British imperialism. With growing nationalist sentiment and the independence movement in Scotland, this paper researches to what extent Scottish people interacted with and contributed to the colonisation of Canada. It can be difficult to discern the British from the Scottish in a period where their differences were less poignant than today. This paper focuses on self-identification of nationhood and geographical movements. Scottish people immigrated to Canada earlier and more often than the English, by working with companies such as the Hudson's Bay Company with French ‘voyageurs’. There is existing scholarship on this topic in Canada, most specifically in areas such as Montréal and the McCord Museum, due to the high population of early Scottish immigrants. However, this topic is virtually unknown to British, Scottish and European audiences.

Alongside a growing nationalism in Scotland has grown a sense of Scottish exceptionalism. This exceptionalism suggests that Scottish history exists outside of British history, and that Scottish people are inherently more accepting and welcoming due to their lack of involvement in imperialism. This

research is vital to understanding the distinctly Scottish involvement in the colonisation of Indigenous Peoples in Canada.

This paper uses predominately Canadian sources, focusing heavily on scholarship which discusses the period between the fur trade and expansion west with the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway (1650-1900). The research shows that Scottish individuals played a significant role in the every day colonisation of Canada through occupying space and consuming resources, as well as political and military colonisation. This research is essential to the development of a distinctly Scottish colonial history which the contemporary Scottish academic landscape demands.

Sabrina Nordlund is a Canadian scholar who lives in Scotland. She completed her HBA in History, specialising in Military History at Lakehead University in 2018. In 2020 she returned to Lakehead University to study her Masters in History. Her research focuses on imperialism, resistance and independence movements.

13.30 – 13.50: **Karen Lauwers** (CALLIOPE, University of Helsinki), “From textual representation to political mobilization. French stereotypes of Arab and Berber leadership in colonial Algeria (late 1840s-1860s)”

In the context of France’s violent military appropriation of Algerian land inhabited by Arab and Berber tribes, another type of political mobilization took place, performed by officers-administrators attached to the French army’s sister institution, called the *bureau arabe*. At the peak of France’s so-called civilization project (late 1850s-1860s) during the military colonization of Algeria (1830-1870), massive amounts of reports, several memoirs and expedition journals were produced by administrators of these Arab bureaus, functioning as the army’s intelligence service in Algeria. The bureaus’ many attempts at gathering knowledge about political and cultural practices of the Muslim population and their most important local chiefs reveal the French officers’ views of what an (un)trustworthy and powerful/-less Arab or Berber leader looked and sounded like. Therefore, these sources are especially telling of French perspectives on embodied political practices in the subdued and unsubdued tribes of the colony.

The colonial officers’ pre-conditioned bias towards visual instead of aural perceptions influenced their ideas of Arab and Berber leadership, and contributed to the distinction between politics and religion, which they construed and tried to force upon local practices of the native population. Their imperial ear listened selectively along categories of the political vs. the apolitical. In my paper, I will tease out this artificial distinction through a case study of how colonial authors misinterpreted the multifaceted role of a marabout, a religious notable who built his or her reputation on saintly lineage claims and consultations with their supporters. My case study, in sum, sheds light on how French colonial officers and administrators de-spiritualized and re-imagined the marabouts’ consultation habits, and subsequently molded them into their own political practices, performed in the colony.

Karen Lauwers is a postdoctoral researcher at the University of Helsinki’s Department of Cultures. Trained as a political historian at the University of Antwerp (where she completed her PhD on interactions between “ordinary” French citizens and their parliamentary representatives in the early-twentieth century), she is currently working on the French-Algerian axis of the ERC-funded CALLIOPE project. More concretely, she analyzes French colonial officers’ expectations of and experiences with Algerian forms of leadership and political practices, Algerian modes of public speech, political knowledge, and news circulation among the Muslim population (1846-1871).

13.50 – 14.20: **Discussion**

14.20 – 14.40: break

14.40 – 16.10: KEYNOTE discussion between Barnita Bagchi (Associate Professor, Utrecht University) **and Ananya Jahanara Kabir** (Professor, King's College London)

Session to be introduced and chaired by Esha Sil.

16.10 – 16.30: break

16.30 – 18.00: **PANEL 8: Music and voice of the colonial subaltern**

Chair: Meri Kytö (University of Eastern Finland)

16.30 – 16.50: Eva Schalbroeck (University of Utrecht), "A memory cacophony? The contested remembrance of the 'Congolese choirs'"

This paper focuses on the multiple, often conflicting ways in which acoustic and performative articulations of the African 'other' are remembered. The remembrance of the *Chanteurs à la Croix de Cuivre* [Singers of the Copper Cross] – a choir of Congolese boys in nineteenth and twentieth century colonial Congo, led by missionaries and European educated Congolese – serves as a case study. This choir is not remembered with one voice. When colonial nostalgia was rampant, certain Belgians argued that the 'benevolent colonisers' made 'exemplary' Congolese audible. Recently, critical Congolese artists considered the culturally hybrid choir a means of imposing colonial power structures. Alternatively, some believed that the choir allowed Congolese music to survive in spite of colonial oppression.

This paper juxtaposes these different forms of memory, thereby unpacking their underpinning motives and world view. Firstly, it analyses whether the choir is depicted as a European creation, an 'authentic' African voice, or a hybrid form. Secondly, it examines whether this choir is considered a tool of oppression or as leverage for agency and identity. Thirdly, it explores how the hearing of this choir and the silencing of certain voices during colonial rule features in the different memory forms. Finally, attention is paid to how format – ranging from written biographies to performative exhibitions interconnecting auditory, material, and visual elements – shapes particular memory forms.

This paper highlights the importance of recognising that how these acoustic and performative articulations of the African 'other' are remembered after decolonisation is not fixed, but subject to ongoing reshaping. It argues that grasping this is vital to understanding the significance and multiple meanings accorded to these articulations. Finally, this paper wonders whether it is possible to craft a polyphonic memory out of memories which are generally seen as mutually exclusive.

Eva Schalbroeck specialises in the history of colonialism and the missionary movement in colonial Central Africa and colonial memory and postcolonial heritage. She studied at the KU Leuven (Belgium) and the University of Cambridge (the United Kingdom). She is currently a lecturer in Cultural History at Utrecht University (the Netherlands).

16.50 – 17.10: Niklas Pelizäus-Gengenbach (Göttingen University), "Singing but silent: Sound recordings from the African diaspora in Imperial German phonographic collections"

Several types of silence are becoming relevant when it comes to sound recordings in historical phonographic collections. Most remarkable is the political silence of some voices that were captured in the Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv between 1904 and 1914. The archive actually brought together a huge amount of sound recordings as ethnomusicological material from regions all over the world, particularly during the period of German colonialism. However, for a special range of collections some Africans living in Berlin were engaged as singers and musicians. These so called 'archival recordings' (*Archivaufnahmen*) were conducted in the rooms of the Phonogramm-Archiv itself. Most of the

individuals whose voices were recorded here were working in academic positions in the German capital. Moreover, they were part of a diasporic network of West African elites articulating protest towards the German colonial government. They hardly matched with the regular image of the 'African other' in Wilhelmine Germany. In contrast, these self-confident young men embodied a type of colonial subjects that was not intended and even tried to prevent by the German colonial state.

It initially takes some effort to sound out these social and political dimensions from the archival recordings of the Phonogramm-Archiv. Committed to the genre of traditional music, the Africans involved did not appear as political subjects but rather as ethnographic objects silenced by the scientific practices of collecting and archiving. I will examine these practices as ways of exercising colonial power and listen to what the singers had to say within (and despite of) the limits of their ethnographic performances. Taking into account further biographical information, I will try to make sense of these rare records of a colonial encounter from another than an ethnomusicological perspective.

Niklas Pelizäus-Gengenbach studied Modern History in Münster, Germany until 2016. He is mostly interested in colonial history and the field of sound studies. After working at the German Broadcasting Archive (DRA) for two years, he started a PhD-project at Göttingen University on ethnomusicological collecting during German colonialism.

17.10 – 17.30: **Irfan Ahmad** (South Federal University, Rostov-on-Don, Russia), "The Involvement of British Intellectualism in the Indian Classical Music"

This research paper intends to explore the impact of Western music on Indian Classical music during the British rule over India. The Europeans followed the fixed Tampered Scale of an Octave while Indian Diatonic Scale was more flexible and adaptable for the artist to perform a Raga. There was no concept of a note fixation, artists were free to choose the pitch for specific performance. The rest of the instruments were tuned accordingly. The unique and different thing they had was the *Shruti* System. There were twenty-two *shrutis*, divided all over an Octave. In addition, they had seventy-two *Melakarta* scales based on different combinations of the notes, while the west had modes, major and minor scales. Unaccustomed to these intricate details in music, the imperial masters disapproved of Indian Classical music and called it a low brow and naive. So, Bhatkhande came up with the idea of the 10 *Thaath* System; the fusion of Western and Indian Classical music, which is still not accepted by most of the *Gharanas* of Eastern Classical music. Though his system got official recognition, it destroyed the aesthetical and emotional characteristics of Indian Classical music. The Indian musicians adopted the new system to get recognition and acceptance from the lords.

Irfan Ahmad is an ethnomusicologist from National College of Arts, who has worked in the National Institute of Heritage as an Archive Manager. Presently, he is doing his Masters in Culturology at the South Federal University, Rostov-on-Don, Russia.

17.30 – 18.00: **Discussion**

18.00 – 18.30: break

18.30 – 19.30: **SPECIAL SESSION: Musical intermezzo by Sergio Castrillón** (University of Helsinki)
Session to be introduced by Josephine Hoegaerts (CALLIOPE, University of Helsinki)