Aber wie findet diese kleine Chance der Musik zu unserem Ausgangsproblem zurück? Der Schweizer Komponist Klaus Huber hat vorsichtig in Frageform eine Antwort auf unsere Sorge, Zukunft könnte bloß die ›Illusion einer Zukunft‹ sein, gegeben: »Wäre […] der schöpferische Prozeß ein möglichst vollkommenes Offensein und Gespanntheit in der Gleichzeitigkeit? Würde ihm gerade dies ermöglichen, etwas wie ›Zukunft‹ zu antizipieren? Könnte, müßte da nicht die schöpferische Arbeit dem gesellschaftlichen Sein in einem ganz bestimmten Sinn vorausleuchten?«[43] Bei aller Behutsamkeit ist dies doch eine sehr europäische Künstlerantwort, voll Vertrauen auf Kants »Einbildungskraft« und auf die *energeia* des Aristoteles. Ich weiß, die Perspektive solch einer Antwort kann sich wieder in Teleologie und alten Wertaxiomen verfangen. Aber ganz ohne sie wird eine ›europäische Identität‹ wohl ohne Seele bleiben.

Margaret Kartomi (Melbourne)

New Directions in the Discourse on Cultural and National Identity, with Special Reference to Europe and the European Union

This article presents a concept and classification of types of musical identity in culturally pluralist Europe in relation to some associated political and ethical questions that are discussed in Gernot Gruber's and Philip Bohlman's articles in this volume.[1] Based in part on my field research in Asia and Europe, I propose that five kinds or levels of musical identity be distinguished: that of an individual, a nation-state, large clusters of nation-states (as in Europe or Southeast Asia), an ethno-linguistic group, and an ethnic or national group in a diaspora situation.

Gruber's article deals in part with no less a topic than the implications of the recent intensive discussions about the culture of the nation-states of the whole of Europe (an example of my third level of identity) in this globalising era, including the states that found economic and political reasons for joining the European Union and others that wish to. The issue of European identity became topical in the wake of the recent constitutional amendment debate and the broadening of the European Union's membership. In a chapter devoted to Europe's future in Paul Kennedy's widely read book *Preparing for the Twenty-*

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43 Klaus Huber, *Umgepflügte Zeit. Schriften und Gespräche*, hrsg. von Max Nyffeler, Köln 1999, S. 429.
1   I wish to congratulate Gernot Gruber and Philip Bohlman for their courage in tackling some difficult topical issues concerning the ethnographic present in their articles. Discussion of controversial political and other contemporary issues have been anathema in the past to most music scholars, who have cited the difficulty in achieving an historical perspective as a main reason for it.

first Century[2], Kennedy discussed the issue of European identity but made little mention of culture, education, art and religion, referring instead mainly to global threats, changes in communication, automatisation, finance, industry and agriculture. Gruber asks: should the discussion of European identity as a whole be conducted »with or without music«[3]? Given that the discrete music cultures of Europe's many nation states have thrived for so long on notions of national musical identity and difference rather than images of corporate identity, it is still difficult for the new Europe to speak of a European identity as a whole, one that is more than the sum of its parts. In the current political climate the debate emanates from of a desire for a European balance in the history of the West, Gruber argues. These questions are being raised as a reaction to previous national statehoods that resulted from 19th century processes of constructing national histories.

Bohlman's paper also introduced important cultural-political issues across contemporary Europe with his critical discussion of the persistent racial prejudice practised against three demonised minority groups: the Jews, the Roma and the Muslims. These communities (examples of my fourth level of identity) have crossed the borders of Europe's nation-states and have historically been displaced, expelled, or forced to fall silent (as Bohlman puts it). Just as 19th century colonial powers constructed an image of ›Orientalism‹ in the Other that served to define imperial power in the West, spurious racist constructions of these three displaced peoples in Europe have become today's Other and continue to be used as tools of political control.

Basically on racist grounds, European Jews and their cultures were ostracised for centuries, resulting among other things in the Jews' massive displacement before and during World War II. Allegations against them, their musicians and music-cultures made on spurious economic and cultural grounds by neo-fascist groups continue in some quarters to this day. Another displaced European people are the Roma, who were maligned for centuries as untrustworthy gypsies, yet whose musical identity was subject to ›theft‹ by European composers and others, who took Roma melodies and dance into mainstream European culture with little recognition of their source, while the society at large denied, and continues to deny, basic human rights to the Roma people.[4] Abandonment of whole cultural identities is another result of imperialist, colonialist, technological, economic or political change, or combinations of these. The cultural identities of some other similarly oppressed peoples have been lost altogether.[5]

Bohlman's discussion of his third displaced group – the Muslims in Europe – may be related to colonial-era perceptions of Orientalism and its demystification by Edward Said.[6]

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2   Paul Kennedy, *Preparing for the Twenty-first Century*, New York 1993.
3   This wording is taken from Gruber's paper title.
4   Other examples of a people who accuse their oppressors of theft of their visual and performing arts and their use as symbols of a nation-state with little or no compensation are the Indigenous Australians and the U.S. and Canadian Indians, many of whom have lived in poverty from their early colonisation to this day.
5   For example, of the c. 500 Indigenous Australian languages and cultures encountered at the beginning of the White settlement of Australia from 1788, well over half were lost decades ago and more are still dying.
6   »Three things have contributed to making even the simplest perceptions of the Arabs and Islam into

In an organised campaign to ostracise the varied Muslim populations of Europe, including migrant ›guest workers‹ from Turkey and elsewhere, the allegation has recently been spread in and beyond the media that Islam, being the major Other, is ›a culture‹ (as if there were but one Muslim ethno-linguistic group) that disapproves of music. The allegation is a half truth based on the orthodox Muslim practice of reserving musical performance for use outside the mosques, just as Quakers keep music out of their meeting houses in England and elsewhere. To spread the rumour that Muslims lack music is a malicious twisting of the truth to help construct and perpetuate the concept of the despised enemy, the Other. As Bohlman argues, rather than accepting differences of identity between mainstream European culture and the displaced Other in and beyond Europe, we would be better served by taking note of the commonalities between them and adopt a theory of their »radical similarity« (e.g., on the musical level, their common practice of improvisation in some contexts). The problems could be resolved if people were to refuse to accept that an unbridgeable gulf exists between the Self and the Other (›Eigenbilder‹ und ›Fremdbilder‹), for the gulf itself was invented and is still perpetuated for dubious ends.

In a sense it is remarkable that musicologists raised the above issues at the 2004 congress held in Weimar, the historical city of Goethe, Schiller, Herder and Liszt. Questions about the political, racial and multicultural identity of Europe were unimaginable at the time of those luminaries who contributed so much to constructs of German artistic identity. Indeed, national sensitivities prevented them from being asked throughout much of the 20th century as well, given its tumultuous history of inter- and intra-state conflict and hard-won periods of peace, and despite efforts made near its end to unite Europe on the economic and political fronts. It is only with the recent political development of the European Union that discussions of the musical identity of Europe as a whole became a real possibility. The musical questions raised are, at root, political; indeed, they are related to the argument presented by some political scientists that the modern nation-state system is beginning to disintegrate.

The question now arises: how and why did the nation-state system and its constructs of cultural identity arise? A comparison of political maps of Europe over the past three centuries or so displays many shifting borders of discrete nation-states. Especially in the 19th century, many states insisted on creating a particular national, social, political and cultural (including musical) identity for themselves, based on the culture of their elite at a particular time.[7] Each time a national culture was developed it was manipulated to augment the respective state's legitimacy. Nation-states tried to homogenise their peoples through policies that eliminated, marginalised or assimilated those peoples who deviated from the national norm. Except for those unfortunates who fell between the gaps, such as racial

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a highly politicized, almost raucous matter: one, the history of popular anti-Arab and anti-Islamic prejudice in the West, which is immediately reflected in the history of Orientalism; two, the struggle between the Arabs and Israeli Zionism and its effects upon [...] both the liberal culture and the population at large; three, the almost total absence of any cultural position making it possible either to identify with or dispassionately to discuss the Arabs or Islam«. Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*, New York 1978, p. 26–27.

7   Thus the Hapsburg monarchy, for example, became associated with a particular aristocratic musical identity created by its contemporary composers and musicians.

pariahs, refugees and stateless people, each European nation-state divided its populations into citizens and non-citizens, or aliens. The concept of the nation-state system that emerged in a group of centralised European territorial states from around the 16th century and gradually became the dominant form of political organisation in the 18th and 19th centuries involved the reconstitution of intrastate social relations and identity. Composers, musicians and other artists in, say, France or Italy played as crucial a role as the politicians and philosophers in the creation of their national imaginations, including appropriations of their particular concert-hall and folk or traditional music-cultures, languages, histories and traditions. Each nation's ethno-linguistic mix of people had its main and its subordinate identities, such as the dominant concert-hall tradition and the two folk art traditions of the subservient Roma and the Hungarian peasant class in Hungary. Thus, each nation-state invented[8] a system of identities for its populations in which art, culture and politics were inextricable.[9]

An important recent change occurred recently with the widespread and still growing acceptance of the European Union. Only now, at the turn of the 21st century, is Europe's modern nation-state system beginning to modify – if not to disintegrate – in favour of a concept of European cultural unity that, despite some local differences, shares stylistic commonalities between its nations and ethno-linguistic groups. Thus, not only the economic and political unity but also the cultural identity of Europe can be discussed as a unifying measure vis-à-vis the cultures of the Middle East, North Africa, and other multi-state cultural units.

On first reading Gruber's paper, I was surprised that he, an Austrian musicologist from the land of Mozart, Schubert, and other native, resident or visiting composers of the classical music tradition, would seriously discuss the music of all Europe as one entity, despite the calls from the European Union to do so and the generalist books (such as Paul Kennedy's) that have recently encouraged that kind of thinking. However, it then occurred to me that if an imaginary man or woman from Mars[10] or Venus were to look down on the Earth and listen to broadly-chosen musical samples of concert-hall music across Europe, she might be struck by the essential similarity between them rather than the differences, especially if compared with the complexes of traditional musics of communities and nation-states of Southeast Asia, or in sub-Saharan Africa, etc. The concept of harmony and counterpoint, for example, is found throughout European concert-hall music but is irrelevant in traditional Southeast Asian or Sub-Saharan African music, though after colonial contact began, the concept was adopted and adapted into the changing music-cultures of those two multi-state regions.

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8   The main exponents of theories of the ›invention‹ or ›fabrication‹ of nationalism are: Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (revised ed.), London 1991; Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, Ithaca, NY 1983; and Eric Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780. Programme, Myth, Reality*, Cambridge, MA 1990.
9   The arguments presented in this paragraph are based on David Dutton, *Citizenship in Australia. A Guide to Commonwealth Government Records*, Canberra 1999, p. 9–13.
10   Bruno Nettl first proposed that an imaginary ethnomusicologist from Mars look down on Western music, especially Mozart's, to see it as part of the world's music. See Nettl »Mozart and the Ethnomusicological Study of Western Culture«, in: *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 21 (1989), p. 1–16, here: p. 2.

I then decided to compare the dominant traditional or classical musics in the three large regions just mentioned by drawing a diagram of each one in a separate cone, and inserting many smaller cones within each larger one to depict the relevant musical expressions of each ethnic group or nation-state that exists within it (one cone is presented in figure 1). The vertical axis represented the spatial element of the respective nation-state or region, while the horizontal axis depicted the time element, its tapering cone walls representing constructs of a nation's or group's identity over the relevant centuries.[11] Overlapping cones to depict the more complex results of contact (e. g., musical syncretism) between states and ethnic groups that cross over political borders of each region were omitted for clarity's sake.

To illustrate this idea, I have drawn a cone in figure 1 that depicts constructs of identity of the concert-hall music tradition among a sample of today's European nation-states, excluding constructs of identity of Bohlman's ethno-linguistic groups (for they would require a separate diagram).
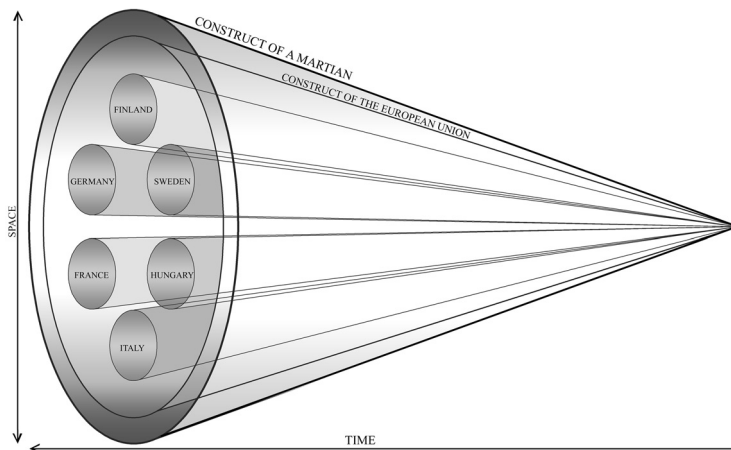

Figure 1: Constructs of Identity of Concert Hall Music Tradition Among European Nation-States (Samples Only)

The large outer cone represents a construct of the European concert-hall music tradition by an imaginary observer from a point on Mars, while the inner large inner cone depicts a construct by an observer from Brussels or the European Union. Only a sample of Europe's nation-states is drawn in the form of smaller cones within the two larger ones, the others simply being implied, as the Figure represents only the abstract principle of the borders of the sample of nation-states, not the ever-changing practice.

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So far I have been discussing some of the factors that define identity, including music-cultural identity. But what is identity?

11   Rüdiger Schumacher suggested the history-depicting cone idea to me at the GfM Congress in Weimar.

It may be argued that identity is a mental construct that is usually created for personal, pedagogical/academic, socio-political or commercial reasons. Statements about identity are qualitatively different from statements of fact, for their relative lack of objectivity pre-empts their achieving the rigour that statements of fact normally require. Like similar broad concepts, such as those labeled ›music‹ and ›games‹, the general concept of identity is creative, expansive, ever-changing. As it extends beyond rationality, it is not satisfactorily definable as a general phenomenon that covers all cases; only particular concepts of identity can be defined with a degree of rigour. Constructions of music-cultural identity need to be seen as part of a larger picture that is determined by one's ideological position and one's place and time in history. Thus, Bohlman's paper distinguished between modern versus post-modern approaches, listing such determinants as geographical place, language, song, religion and other ideologies, race or ethnicity, and myth, history and genealogy under the modernist approach, and authenticity vis-à-vis hybridity, globalisation, and home culture vis-à-vis diaspora under the post-modern approach to an understanding of identity.

As intimated above, I wish to distinguish between five levels of musical identity: that of the individual, the nation-state, large clusters of nation-states (as of Europe or Southeast Asia), the ethno-linguistic group in its home environment, and the national or ethno-linguistic group in a diaspora situation. The individual, ethno-linguistic group and diaspora group have been neglected in our discussion to this point. I shall now comment on the individual level, then on the ethno-linguistic group, and finally on the diaspora group.

Musicians in some cultures speak of their own personal artistic identity in terms of the pedigree of their teachers, others in terms of their adherence to cultural norms (as in Thai classical tradition, which insists on musicians paying respect to their forebears by not changing the essential qualities of their classical pieces), and yet others to their own creative development of the styles of their forebears (as in the case of many contemporary European musicians). Those individual musicians in Europe who seek to define their own personal identity by tracing the genealogies of their teachers attribute the way they perform to a pedigree, or traditional ›tree‹. For example, the 2004 Prospectus of the St Petersburg Conservatoire reads:

> The professors of violin at the conservatoire H. Wieniawsky (1835–1880) and L. Auer (1845–1930) founded a powerful Russian School of violinists. Auer's student, Y. Eidlen, and his colleague, V. Sher, brought up a whole galaxy of famous Russian violinists: M. Vaiman, B. Gutnikov, V. Ovcharek, M. Kommisarov, V. Liberman, K. Veksler and V. Spivakov. These individual artists' identities are built on that of their violinist-teachers.

There is a substantial literature that plots music-genealogical violin and other instrumental trees in Europe. Likewise, individual Indian musicians discuss their musical identity (or *gharana*[12]) in terms of their personal creative development as part of a network of pedigree master teachers throughout the generations. For example, singer A may build on the identity of his forebears by saying that he learned the art of vocal music from teachers B and C.

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12 Chetan Karnani, *Form in Indian Music: A Study in Gharanas*, New Delhi 2005.

Similarly, singer B may recall that he learned from D, E and F, while singer C may say he learned from E but also from G. If the musical identity of such artists is graphically summarised by drawing a dot for each individual and linking them all up according to who taught whom, a complex network of patterns of genealogy is arrived at.[13]

Now to the matter of the identity of an ethno-linguistic, national or other group as opposed to an individual. Bohlman spoke on his lecture about the identity of three clusters of ethno-linguistic groups in the context of contemporary Europe as a whole, namely the Muslim, Jewish and Roma communities. How does the musical identity of an ethnic community or state differ from that of an individual? Group identity may be defined as »a sense of belonging, of memberships, of place, and of connection to a particular community«,[14] whereas an individual belongs to him- or herself, or in some cases to a pedagogic genealogy. The sense of identity in ethnic and other communities refers to the way in which a people, such as the Roma, conceive of themselves and are perceived by others, as well as to some form of common cultural descent which marks them out as being substantially different from other communities. Royce defined ethnic identity as »the sum total of feelings on the part of group members about those values, symbols and common histories that identify them as a distinct group«.[15]

So ethnic identity is at least partly a sum of feelings about one's group. Yet the group is made up of smaller groups of individuals distinguished by gender, age, work pursuits and other factors. Let us look at another example of a group which I am studying at present: the Muslim people of the Indonesian province of Aceh, in Sumatra, Southeast Asia. On several field trips between the early 1980s and the present, I discovered that men, women, children, religious leaders, former aristocrats, bureaucrats, pedagogues, academics, and other groups in society all hold to slightly different colourings of an idea of Acehnese identity, adhering to the dominant construct but emphasising different parts of it according to their own particular kind of life experience. In this strictly gender-segregated society, women see their public identity as resulting from their provision of sustenance for the whole community and dance performances for female audiences only,[16] while men see their identity as being symbolised (among other symbols) by the main family of instruments that they play: the frame drum (*rapa'i*), especially its largest form – the great, thunderous-sounding *rapa'i Pasè*[17]. These sets of frame drums, that measure up to a metre in diameter and were named after the first Muslim kingdom in Southeast Asia (the Pasai'Pasè, kingdom that was founded in the 1490s on present-day Aceh's east coast[18]), are played on grand governmental occasions and at

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13   I am grateful to Wim van der Meer for referring me to the most recent literature on *gharana*.

14   Jeffrey A. Summit, *The Lord's Song in a Strange Land: Music and Identity in Contemporary Jewish Worship*, New York 2000, p. 22.

15   Anya Peterson Royce, *Ethnic Identity: Strategies of Diversity*, Bloomington, IN 1982, p. 19.

16   As an Acehnese proverb (»peunajoh timpan piasan rapa'i«) has it, communal unity at a celebration is represented by (the women's contribution of) refreshments / *timpan* cakes and (the men's contribution of) frame drum (*rapa'i*) playing.

17   Margaret J. Kartomi, »›If a Man Can Kill a Buffalo with One Blow he can Play a *Rapa'i Pasè*‹. How the Frame Drum Expresses Facets of Acehnese Identity«, in: *Journal of Chinese Ritual, Theatre and Folklore* 144 (2004), p. 39–88, here: p. 60–62.

all-night competitions, at which they serve to stimulate Acehnese pride in their glorious past, when local kings ruled over mighty kingdoms. Clearly, identity often has as much to do with political pride as artistic matters; for example, the frame drums have a long history, are involved in traditional custom, and are played in many genres of music, dance, story telling and theatre. Such artistic symbols as the *rapa'i* involve »a complex nexus of history, literature, language, social organisation, folk sanctions, standards of conduct, social and spiritual ideas, and aesthetic values«[19]. Those aesthetic values and precepts of moral conduct serve not only as a lens through which a people's social values may be seen, but also as powerful emotive and cognitive agents that can be used by political and religious leaders to inspire concerted action.

Finally I shall briefly discuss the identity of ethno-linguistic groups in a diaspora situation, which brings with it its own methodological problems. It is necessary to distinguish between situations of voluntary migration, as with the Baghdadi Jews who migrated around Asian cities in the past two hundred years,[20] and involuntary or forced migration, as with European Jews in World War II. The fictive super-family of Baghdadi Jews, who settled happily in new environments around Asia over the past two centuries to carry out their business pursuits, continued to adhere to deeply-held ideas of partial accommodation to their new environments and tried their best to resist change in their liturgical music and other concomitants of their identity, with some success. In some other ethnic-group histories, on the other hand, the trauma of separation from a homeland as a result of forced migrations and an initial inability to adapt to a new homeland may encourage various kinds of musical change to occur, as McCredie and others have found in their study of post World War II Jewish migrations from Europe to Asia and beyond,[21] and as Reyes[22] identified in her study of Vietnamese forced migrants in the United States.

Conclusions

Music can serve as a lens through which the identity of an individual or group may be viewed. Identity, however, is a mental construct. Due to its creative, expansive, ever-changing nature, identity as a general concept is not ultimately definable. Only particular concepts of identity can be defined with any degree of rigour.

As the concept of the identity of an individual or group excludes – by definition – those perceived as outsiders, it may easily engender negative judgments about them. Concepts of

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18   Pasè is spelled in Acehnese, Pasai in Malayo-Indonesian.
19   Mordecai Kaplan, *Judaism as a Civilisation: Towards a Reconstruction of American Jewish Life* (1957), Philadelphia 1981, p. 178.
20   Studies of Baghdadi Jews' migrant route around South, Southeast and East Asia and the relative stability of their liturgical music are found in Sara Manasseh, »Religious Music Traditions of the Jewish-Babylonian Diaspora in Bombay«, in: *Ethnomusicology Forum* 13/1 (2004), p. 47–74 and in Kartomi, »If a Man Can Kill a Buffalo«.
21   Margaret J. Kartomi and Andrew D. McCredie, »Musical Outcomes of Jewish Migration into Asia via the Northern and Southern Routes c. 1780–c.1950«, in: *Ethnomusicology Forum* 13/1 (2004), p. 3–20, here: p. 10–16.
22   Adelaida Reyes, *Songs of the Caged, Songs of the Free. Music and the Vietnamese Refugee Experience*, Philadelphia 1999.

identity may be employed for ethical or other positive ends in some situations. In some environments, however, they may involve the oppression of others' identities on racist or religious grounds; this may include the theft of key elements of a group's identity, the spreading of false rumours about an individual's or group's identity, or the total loss of one's cultural identity. Certain uses of identity, especially those involving imperial power and / or racial and religious intolerance, have resulted in the displacement or expulsion of a people, with the victims being either forced to remain silent or being able to protest and fight back for self-survival.

Musical identity exists on the individual as well as on the level of the group, in the latter case including the cases of a nation-state, a cluster of nation-states, an ethno-linguistic group, and a national or ethno-linguistic group in a diaspora situation. Musicians in some cultures speak of their own personal identity in terms of their artistic pedigree or genealogy of teachers, others in terms of their adherence to cultural norms, and yet others according to their creative development of styles of their forebears. Concepts of group identity are frequently based in part on historical memory and emphasise the primordial aspects of their particular ›glorious past‹. Due to pressures involved in adapting to a new home community, a diaspora group's identity changes in various ways, depending largely on whether its members migrated voluntarily or by force.

In our increasingly globalising world, clusters of nation-states are increasingly being viewed as large cultural units. It is therefore necessary to think beyond questions of individual, group and national identity and to conceive of complexes of music-cultural identity, such as those of the regions of Europe, Southeast Asia and Indigenous Australia, and to develop theories of complexes of regional music-cultural identities to that end.

Hans-Joachim Giegel (Jena)

Kultur – Identität und Differenz

Kultur tritt in Gesellschaftstheorien als eine Kategorie auf, die in Konkurrenz zur Kategorie der Struktur steht. Strukturelle Bedingungen reichen nicht aus, um gesellschaftliche Prozesse und Entwicklungen zu erklären. Fast immer ist Kultur in Bedingungszusammenhängen für gesellschaftliche Phänomene von Bedeutung. Kultur in diesem Kontext meint grundlegende Schemata der Weltauffassung und basale Wertorientierungen einer Gesellschaft. Gesellschaften sind nicht nur strukturell definiert, sondern auch im Hinblick auf ihre Kultur. Die okzidentalen Gesellschaften z. B. haben in einem über Jahrhunderte sich vollzogenen Prozess der Ausbildung ihrer Kultur ein kulturelles Orientierungsmuster entwickelt, das durch die Komponenten des Rationalismus, Individualismus, Universalismus und instrumentalen Aktivismus bestimmt ist. Kulturelle Muster dieser Art eröffnen und blockieren selektiv bestimmte evolutionäre Entwicklungspfade. Die Strukturveränderun-