

The Location of Music: Towards a Hybrid Musicology¹

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Introduction

With the title of his book *The Location of Culture* (1994), Homi Bhabha implicitly asks the question 'where is culture?' It would be naive to expect a straightforward answer, but perhaps the most salient issue that Bhabha brings up in his final chapter is the very spatialization of culture. It is in the construction 'taking place'² that the spatial way we think about culture is revealed. Culture is performed, it exists in time, but we localize it in space. For a musicologist the matter is perhaps simpler, or at least more restricted, but the premises are the same. Where do we find music? Is it (in) the printed score? Is it (in) the recorded LP or CD? Obviously, these are reifications with very limited scope. Yet, both western classical musicologists and ethnomusicologists have largely drawn on these reifications. And when they do not, they often revert to essentialism. The notion that 'historical musicology is the study of dead composers' seems more and more untenable. Where is Bach's music located? Certainly not in scores or CDs. That is not surprising in a culture where a Research Guide to Methodology states that 'music itself, that is the musical score [sic], is the most important primary source material for the musicologist.'³ Bach's music is (and has been) located in the musicians that play his music, in

the audiences that listen to his music, in the composers that have been influenced by his music. We are fortunate to possess extensive documentation that helps us to form an idea about the construction of Bach's musical identity – what went into it, what came out. But at the same time we must be very careful in dealing with the details of this documentation. It is very easy to fall into the traps of reification, construction, and essentialism. Cook sums it up very succinctly when he talks about producing authoritative editions of composers' music: 'There are two difficulties with this project: first, that it is hard, and second that it is impossible.'⁴

The Translatability of Music

The study of written scores has certain similarities to the study of literature, or perhaps more of poetry or drama, because literature is written to be read, while music, poetry and drama are written to be performed. However, this mainly concerns historical and critical approaches, while the 'linguistics' of music is found in systematic musicology or music theory. Comparative musicology has more in common methodologically with comparative linguistics, as it has been mostly directed to the systematic aspects of music. A branch of comparative musicology that would investigate

1 This paper was presented at the monthly colloquium on musicology at the University of Amsterdam, on November 11, 2004, with the title 'The Time, Place and Culture of Music' – a title indirectly alluding to the eminent study (1973) of the former director of the department, Frank Harrison. At the same meeting, Rokus de Groot delivered a paper entitled 'De toekomst van de muzikwetenschappen: ontwikkeling van polyfonie', which is also published in this issue. Earlier contributions to the colloquium series, by Sander van Maas ('Radical Musicologie') and Henkjan Honing ('The Comeback of Systematic Musicology: New Empiricism and the Cognitive Revolution'), appeared in *Tijdschrift voor Muziektheorie* 9/3 (2004).

2 Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, London and New York 1994.

3 James Pruet and Thomas P. Slavens, *Research Guide to Musicology*. Chicago 1985.

4 Nicholas Cook, *Music, A Very Short Introduction*, Oxford 1998, p. 83

musical content across cultures, as does comparative literary science, is very difficult to imagine. This leads to the very important question whether music can at all be translated. Of course, this question does also hold true for language; and when we talk about translation we must think of translation as a form of negotiating understanding. As Bhabha puts it:

'(...) the theoretical recognition of the split-space of enunciation may open the way to conceptualizing an international culture, based not on the exotism of multiculturalism or the diversity of cultures, but on the inscription and articulation of culture's hybridity. To that end we should remember that it is the 'inter' – the cutting edge of translation and negotiation, the in-between space – that carries the burden of the meaning of culture. (...) And by exploring this Third Space, we may elude the politics of polarity and emerge as the others of our selves.'⁵

At all times 'culture as a strategy of survival is both transnational and translational'.⁶ Transnational as a direct consequence of migrations, translational because of the necessity of coming to terms with the complex issue of cultural signification *as a result* of transnationality. Again, citing Walter Benjamin ('Translation passes through *continua* of transformation, not abstract ideas of identity and similarity'), Bhabha stresses the 'performative nature of cultural communication'.⁷

Apparently, translating music makes less sense than translating language. The many modalities that musical 'translation' takes on may be the best illustration of its questionable effectiveness. In the nineteenth century Indian ragas were transformed into western pieces for harpsichord:

'In Hindustani Aairs various styles of North Indian vocal music current in the eighteenth cen-

ture (...) are represented and re-arranged in staff notation. Through this process it can be seen how the logic and structure of one musical system is transformed and submerged by the demands of another. Here tala becomes time signature, and modality is replaced by harmony. Although it is easy to dismiss Hindustani Aairs as mere distortions of authentic Indian musical forms, they are nevertheless of great value in charting the history of Western attitudes to Indian music, as they reveal the nature of the musical and cultural intercourse that took place between Indians and Europeans; the kind of musical filter through which Indian music passed on its way to the West.'⁸

Any 'transcription' of 'other' music can be considered a form of translation, as the transcriber is adapting the other music through the black box of his auditive system, that has been conditioned by the musical system of his own culture. We may go a step further, for all those 'travellers' that have listened to 'other' music were busy translating music. Most of them came to the conclusion that what they heard should be classified as a regular ruckus, which testifies to the idea that musical translation is not self-evident. It also underlines the performative nature of listening, for if listening would be entirely passive it could not elicit such reactions. Other aspects of processing 'other' music in the mind as a form of translation include the highly elaborate systems of western classical composers in the twentieth century, the inclusion of Indian sounds in western film and pop music, the 'world beat' and 'India/Jazz' ensembles like *Shakti*, the huge body of Indian film music etc., etc. However, hybridization through translation is a process that can be found on many other levels, sometimes crossing the border of the species (as in Mozart's 'starling' or in certain forms of *Tuva* music), sometimes crossing the border of class

5 Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, pp. 38-39.

6 Ibidem, p. 172.

7 Ibidem, pp. 212, 228.

8 Gerry Farrell, 'Indian Music and the West, A Historical Overview', in: J. Bor (ed.) *Anthology of Indian Music History*, Delhi, forthcoming.

(how much of art music is translated folk music?) and always crossing the border of time (Gould playing Bach), for all music depends on a tradition in which alterity manifests itself as an ongoing process. As Lyotard says:

'Tradition is that which concerns time, not content. Whereas what the West wants from autonomy, invention, novelty, self-determination, is the opposite – to forget time and to preserve, and accumulate contents. To turn them into what we call history and to think that it progresses because it accumulates. On the contrary, in the case of popular traditions (...) nothing gets accumulated, that is the narratives must be repeated all the time because they are forgotten all the time.'⁹

It is the role of critical musicology to explore the dialectic of tradition versus change. The musician or composer has other things on his mind, as he is basically an opportunist who relies on tradition *and* innovation *at the same time* to establish his identity and in the process proclaim his superiority. 'My' innovations are necessary *within* the tradition; 'other' innovations violate the very fundamentals of the tradition. Twentieth-century western attitudes to the opposites of tradition and change are less evident, as there is, both in popular and classical music, a tendency to fully synthesize these opposites, or, in other words, to take the legacy of tradition for granted while giving full primacy to innovation (of which the 'New!' syndrome is also an outcome). This may partly be ascribed to a capitalist concern with copyrights, which not only prohibits imitation and borrowing, but also cripples the power of tradition to act as a selective filter. It may be, however, that the only real change this entails is that musicians have to worry more about lawyers than about critics. The musicologist, as Seeger had pointed out so clearly, is himself a translator of music. Musicology in his view is largely about rendering music through language.¹⁰ The Dutch word 'vertalen' ('rendering in language') cap-

tures this idea better than the English equivalent 'to translate'.

Reification and Essentialization

The history of Indian culture, and with it the history of Indian music, is extremely rich. At least four major waves of peoples from distinct language groups are recognized, the Austro-Asiatic, the Dravidian, the Sino-Tibetan and the Indo-Aryan. Interaction between these peoples has led to the emerging of a complex society and culture. To some extent, remnants of this (pre-)history survive in the many musical traditions of India – especially the tribal and folk musics. The mingling of these peoples has also led to the rise of urban cultures with a highly developed art music. In the past millennia this art music has been further influenced by incursions of the Greeks, the Turks, the Mongolians, and the English, amongst others. The history of Brazilian culture, and with it the history of Brazilian music, is quite different. Until the arrival of the Portuguese in 1500 it was inhabited by small bands of tribal Amerindians. The impact of these tribals in the making of Brazilian culture since 'the discovery' has been limited. On the contrary, the Portuguese brought in massive numbers of slaves from Africa, whose contribution to Brazilian culture – and in particular to Brazilian music – has been substantial.

The differences between India and Brazil are obvious, and too numerous to even start discussing. It would be acceptable to say that any similarity is pure coincidence. Or would it? The great merit of the postcolonial methodology proposed by Homi Bhabha is that it challenges the reification and essentialization of identities. In the traditional model of hybridization you have a horse and an ass, and when you hybridize them you get a mule. Horses and asses each have their qualities, but mules are inferior because they cannot reproduce. This image of the evils of miscegenation, so eloquently extolled by De Gobineau, has

9 Cited in Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, p. 58.

10 Charles Seeger, *Studies in Musicology 1935-1975*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1977, pp. 102ff.

been emotionally rejected by many currents of twentieth-century thought.

Cavalli-Sforza's Method as a Model of Hybridity

However, it is only since the revolutionary work of Luigi Cavalli-Sforza that we have a scientific basis for the understanding of human genetics and the nature of race, more than a century after De Gobineau.¹¹ For the purpose of this essay I will summarize Cavalli-Sforza's most important points. 1) The entire current human population descends from a single ancestor who lived in Eastern Africa some 100,000 years back, often referred to as 'mitochondrial Eve'.¹² 2) There is no such thing as race. Of course, at any particular level we can (arbitrarily) define races, so as to distinguish several, dozens, hundreds, or thousands of races. It is merely a matter of enumerating certain genetic characteristics. It must however be stressed that any such categorizing of the human population into separate racial groups is arbitrary. In other words, from the single origin of mankind there has been a differentiation of genetic constitutions, but there has always been an infinite chain of rehybridization that maintained the genetic pool in a constant state of flux. Evidently, strategies of exogamy played an important role in this rehybridization.¹³

I have dwelled on Cavalli-Sforza's work for two reasons. First, because it is the perfect answer to reification of (racial) identities. Second, because it provides us with a model for the study of change. I suggest that there is a very strong similarity between Bhabha's theory of culture and Cavalli-Sforza's theory of genetics.

In passing it should be pointed out that the 'post-colonial' localization of Bhabha's thinking might appear to limit its applicability. It could be suggested that its relevance is limited to the countries that became decolonized in the twentieth century. However, the question of postcolonial methodology is moot, because the universal applicability of Bhabha's theory of hybridization can easily be demonstrated. We can indeed link the histories of India and Brazil – or, for that matter, the histories of all cultures –, because we can apply the methodology of studying them from the angle of processes of hybridization.

Adler and Seeger

Adler (1885) is often mentioned as the first scholar to distinguish certain 'orientations' in musicology, thereby establishing himself as the father of the academic field in the broad sense.¹⁴ This remains curious, because there is so much musicology before him. In fact, beginnings of musicological writing can probably be dated to about 2600 B.C.¹⁵ Oral traditions of musicology may go back considerably further. Kerman, writing a hundred years later than Adler, starts out his discussion about musicology with a common-sense and intelligent definition of the field: 'thinking about, research into, and knowledge of all possible aspects of music'.¹⁶

Such a definition will only leave us with the minor issue of what we call music. For Kerman himself, this is not a problem – to him, music is 'the art music of the Western tradition'¹⁷ and musicology means the study of that music. As we now enter the third millennium, and have witnessed almost five millennia of musicologi-

11 Luigi Luca Cavalli-Sforza, *Genes, Peoples, and Languages*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 2000. Luigi Luca Cavalli-Sforza, Paolo Menozzi and Alberto Piazza, *The History and Geography of Human Genes*, Princeton 1994.

12 The markers that enabled Cavalli-Sforza to establish this theory are located in the mitochondrial DNA.

13 Robin Fox, *Encounter with Anthropology*, Harmondsworth 1973.

14 Guido Adler, 'Umfang, Methode und Ziel der Musikwissenschaft,' *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 1 (1885), pp. 5-20.

15 Babylonian tablets describing different types of instruments, strings and (later) musical scales.

16 Joseph Kerman, *Contemplating Music, Challenges to Musicology*, Cambridge, Mass., 1985, p. 11.

17 *Ibidem*, p. 19.

cal endeavour, such a reductionist attitude seems reactionary and ethnocentric. While reappropriating the term musicology to the western art tradition Kerman relegates the study of music in the broader sense to the discipline of ethnomusicology. However, he would have to take two hurdles here. The first is Charles Seeger; the second the question of finding a theoretical basis for isolating western art music. Neither of these hurdles is really taken by Kerman. He simply dismisses Seeger as a 'systematic musicologist who also was the father of modern ethnomusicology' and goes on to equate ethnomusicology to an ideology of middle-class antagonism against middle-class culture.¹⁸

Kerman is very ambiguous about ethnomusicology. On the one hand, he is eager to shift any musicological endeavour that does not deal with western art music on to the ethnomusicologists' turf, on the other, he strongly resents the ethnomusicologists' attempt to claim the study of all music as their domain.¹⁹ The logical and traditional way of organizing an academic discipline is to use the basic term as the encompassing denomination, and to designate subdisciplines by adding adjectives, prefixes or suffixes. Musicology, as defined by Kerman, seems to be the only field in academia that still uses a reverse classification: the term 'musicology' refers to the study of a highly specific aspect of music, whereas that of music in the broadest sense is called 'ethnomusicology'. After the work of Adler and Seeger such a view is regressive. Rather, we should attempt to understand the many different types of musicologies and the way in which they interact. The third domain Kerman defines (even more casually than ethnomusicology) is music theory. On p. 14 he writes: 'Music theorists are the hardest to generalize about. Some of them lean in the direction of philosophy, and some write (...) in a self-generated language as highly spe-

cialized as that of symbolic logic'. On the next page, however, he out of the blue defines the area as the study of western art music after 1900!

A Typology of Musicologies

It is not my intention to redefine the field and subdisciplines of musicology – the discussions of Adler and Seeger seem quite sufficient. However, very few efforts have been made to understand the way in which different specific musicologies relate to each other and to the larger field to which they belong. I shall try to approach this field in the broadest way: thinking about music, or even through music. In the following typology of musicological behaviours, I attempt to use logical categories rather than customary 'departments'.

Realms

• Endomusicology (historical / critical / theory of)

I propose the distinction between 'endo-' and 'exo-' to refer to a musicology that is historically grown as a pendant to a specific music in a specific culture. Most musicologies are in origin endomusicologies. When musicians start thinking, theorizing, and writing about their own music, they become endomusicologists. We must assume this is how early musicology started, and it still is an important aspect of most musicologies. What Kerman likes to call 'musicology' I would call the endomusicology of western art music. Similarly, the Indian *Sangit shastra* (science of music), is the endomusicology of Indian art music. Many endomusicologies are oral traditions, which sometimes can be extremely complex, as was demonstrated by Menezes Bastos for the Kamayurá Indians of the upper Xingu in Brazil.²⁰

18 Ibidem, pp. 13, 159.

19 Ibidem, p. 13.

20 Rafael José de Menezes Bastos, *A musicológica Kamayurá, Para uma antropologia da comunicação no Alto Xingu*, 2a ed., Florianópolis 1999.

• **Exomusicology** (comparative / ethno / cultural)

When a person from one culture looks at the music from another culture using the musicological categories and views from his own culture, we may call this 'exomusicology'. This avoids the confusion about ethnomusicologists using '-emic' and '-etic' perspectives. It would be a mistake to think that looking at 'other' music is a new thing, or that comparative musicologists and ethnomusicologists are the only representatives of this endeavour. When the Vedic people were writing about the music of the (then autochthonous) inhabitants of India they were already doing some exomusicology.²¹ In the thirteenth century an anonymous Persian author wrote a treatise about Indian music, the *Gunyat ul Munya*. Many travellers commented about music they encountered, and quite a few of them had at least some musical knowledge.²² It is most common for exomusicologists to look down on the music of the 'other'. Even in recent times such great musical thinkers as Boulez and Berlioz have pronounced themselves in quite denigrating terms about the music of India. In fact many ethnomusicologists (being originally trained in western art music and its endomusicology) have condescending attitudes towards 'other' music, as has been pointed out so eloquently by Alain Daniélou.²³

• **Metamusicology** (systematic / empirical / theory of)

Perhaps a musicology that attempts to find universals in different musical traditions, or that negotiates a common ground for translating musical concepts and events between cultures can be referred to as 'metamusicology'. The creation of the cents system for referring to pitches falls in this category. Comparative musicology in general could have a metamusicological character, but unfortunately it

remained very much an exomusicological endeavour, using concepts and tools from western musicology and adapting them (slightly) to enable the 'objective' study of 'other' music. The cultural relativism that gave ethnomusicology such a boost has dealt a deathblow to comparative musicology, and perhaps this was necessary to make a fresh start. If comparative musicology wants to be a metamusicology (or perhaps a hybrid musicology) it will have to negotiate the concepts of different musical cultures on an equal footing.

• **Paramusicology** (musico-logics / musicosophy)

Thinking about music, thinking *in* music, thinking *through* music: are they still part of musicology? When I am singing, I am thinking music. But even when I am not singing, I may still be thinking music. We may think in terms of notes (note names) or we may have graphical images (scores) in our minds, and we may imagine the sound with it. These are all musical ways of thinking about music. In fact, music can be seen as a discourse about itself. Music has also been a way of thinking about the world. Pythagoras' music of the spheres and the Indian concept of *Nadabrahman* (the ultimate sound) or *Vāc* (the original speech-sound) are examples of musical cosmologies. Wertheim used the idea of counterpoint to describe certain social processes.²⁴ The Kamayurá mentioned earlier also use their complex theory of music to 'understand' the world and to regulate their social and cultural life.²⁵

Approaches

• **Orthomusicology** (autonomy of music)

Many musicologists consider music an autonomous and objective phenomenon that one can study in much the same way as a geologist studies mountains. This has been a very

21 Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya, *Lokayata*, New Delhi 1959; G.U. Thite, *Music in the Vedas*, Delhi 1997.

22 Frank Harrison, *Time, Place and Music*, Amsterdam 1973.

23 Alain Daniélou, *The Situation of Music and Musicians in Countries of the Orient*, Florence 1971.

24 W.F. Wertheim, *Evolution and revolution: The rising waves of emancipation*, Harmondsworth 1974, pp. 113-116.

25 Menezes Bastos, *A musicológica Kamayurá*.

successful way of working, whether it concerns historical musicology (the study of historical documents, including scores) or systematic musicology (the study of sound, acoustically or cognitively). One reason why this has worked so well is that music and language are totally different systems of communication within the same realm of sound – which at the same time is the problem of musicology.²⁶

• Ecomusicology

The prefix 'eco-' can refer to the ecology of music – its embedding in culture and society – but also more specifically to the economics of music. Ecomusicology includes the 'second' meaning of ethnomusicology, i.e. 'music in context'. When Nicholas Cook said 'we are all ethnomusicologists now', he perhaps referred to the idea that music simply is not autonomous.²⁷ This may be considered a contribution of ethnomusicology, which has become commonly accepted throughout the academic community. Although we may now be more aware of the contextuality of music than ever, this does not mean that the study of scores and recordings has come to a grinding halt. In fact, it is a common error to think that 'ortho-' and 'eco-' views are mutually exclusive.

This has possibly resulted from the antagonism between western musicologists and ethnomusicologists. Ideally, they should work together, otherwise neither one will make much sense!

• Biomusicology

'Biomusicology' constitutes a rather new approach to music. It was initiated by Nils L. Wallin – although Charles Darwin had already discussed the possible role of music in evolution extensively.²⁸ Biomusicology, which

includes the neurological aspects of music, may help to understand certain aspects of music that have eluded us so far, and that cross over into psychology of music. Snyder's *Music and Memory* is perhaps a good example of a new approach to analyzing music that could be linked to biomedical questions.²⁹ The other direction of biomusicology – the early evolution of music – includes paleomusicology, a field that has generated few, but extremely interesting data.

Against Ethnomusicology

Although I am still called an ethnomusicologist by many students and colleagues, it seems to me that an independent discipline of ethnomusicology has no place in the third millennium. Seeger has always maintained that ethnomusicology simply is musicology.³⁰ The very idea of ethnomusicology is a remnant of colonialism. If we take Kerman's definition, it is the study of non-western music. Dividing the world of music into a western and a non-western sphere seems to be a distinctly colonial legacy. Should an Indian musicologist who specializes in the study of western music call himself an ethnomusicologist? Still, some western musicologists try to defend the 'status aparte' of western art music. Of course, if the argument is that this is *their* music we can accept that. And of course a scholar of French literature will study French literature, but will he suggest that literary studies only bear relevance to French literature?

Kerman also puts western folk and popular music in the domain of ethnomusicology. And many ethnomusicologists apparently devour this other leftover of Kerman's musicology. A common mistake (which Kerman also makes)

26 Seeger, *Studies in Musicology*, pp. 16ff.

27 Nicholas Cook, 'We Are All Ethnomusicologists Now', paper delivered at the one-day conference 'The New (Ethno)Musicologies', British Forum for Ethnomusicology and Department of Music, Royal Holloway, University of London, 17 November 2001.

28 Nils L. Wallin, *Biomusicology: Neurophysiological, Neuropsychological, and Evolutionary Perspectives on the Origins and Purposes of Music*, New York 1991.

29 Bob Snyder, *Music and Memory, An Introduction*, Cambridge, Mass., 2000.

30 Seeger, *Studies in Musicology*, pp. 115-116.

is to think that ethnomusicologists have taken much interest in the art musics of Asia. This is rarely the case. Most western specialists of those musics come from the Orientalist tradition: Van Gulik, Bake, Te Nijenhuis, Bor, Van der Meer, Schimmelpenninck, De Bruine, to mention just a few in the Netherlands. Only Kunst and his disciples are exceptions to this rule. In fact, as Daniélou points out very clearly, ethnomusicologists have been so concerned with music in culture that they have tended to forget about music as art.³¹ Certainly, the understanding that music is not isolated, that it is an integral part of culture – that it is culture indeed – is a contribution of ethnomusicologists like Merriam and Blacking. However, I would prefer to paraphrase Cook by saying ‘we are all musicologists now’. Finally, I would like to point out the limiting and misleading character of the prefix ‘ethno’. As it refers to ethnicity, it is too limiting, because many musics are not linked to ethnicities. And at the same time it is misleading, because ethnicities may have several, or even many musics. Moreover, the very idea of ‘ethnic music’ seems colonialist to me.

The Question of Identity: Process and Construction

In *La Revue Musicale* of November 1929 Mario Pedrosa writes about Villa-Lobos: ‘C’est-à-dire que si on ne tient pas compte du Brésil, on ne peut pas comprendre Villa-Lobos.’³² Villa-Lobos was, according to Pedrosa, fully aware of the nature of his country: wild, sensuous, and confused. Pedrosa knows how to address the taste for exoticism of the Parisian audiences and suggests that Villa-Lobos music represents:

‘Les danses et rondes populaires sous les palmiers et les étoiles des plages du Nord-Est, le batouque du “catêrê” à l’orée des forêts, les

“macumbas” et sorcelleries de nègres à la limite des villes, les “serestas” et “chôros” dans les villes, les traditions et les trouvailles du carnaval dans les capitales, etc. (...)’³³

Pedrosa sees the predominance of rhythm in the oeuvre of Villa-Lobos as the typical element, the concrete reflection of the Brazilian race. The Brazilian is close to nature; spoken language and music are closely related. Popular musicians cannot read and recite their music, ‘comme les Grecs’, according to the laws of language. Pedrosa predicts a differentiation in the development of language and music. Especially the written language will lose its power and its role will be taken over by music. According to Pedrosa everyone is aware of the ‘rôle capital de la musique dans la formation de notre culture nationale et dans l’épanouissement spirituel de l’âme collective.’³⁴

This example of constructing and reifying the identity of a composer is based on an unpublished MA-paper by Jochem Valkenburg. In his conclusion Valkenburg states:

‘Villa-Lobos’ identity as a composer (...) is based on three issues, Brazil, guitaricity and Bach (...) In his use of Bachian as well as folkloristic elements Villa-Lobos had to use certain abstractions to achieve the inextricable “coffee-with-milk” effect and infuse this with his own vision (...) This however, did not result in a particular identity, rather it was part of the process of Villa-Lobos’s life as a composer in which identity was a becoming rather than a being.’³⁵

In the above we can see how Pedrosa transforms the *composer* Villa-Lobos into a constructed identity that we may call a ‘Brazilianism’, or perhaps even a ‘Tropicalism’. This is part of an ideological literature that does not say much about the music of Villa-Lobos,

31 Daniélou, *The Situation of Music and Musicians*, p. 25.

32 M. Pedrosa ‘Villa-Lobos et son peuple: Le point de vue Brésilien’, *La Revue Musicale* 10 (1929), p. 23.

33 Ibidem, p. 24.

34 Ibidem, pp. 25, 28.

35 Jochem Valkenburg, *Hybriditeit en Identiteit in Brazilië: De Gitaarmuziek van Heitor Villa-Lobos*, University of Amsterdam 2002.

but all the more about the positioning of Villa-Lobos in his era, and perhaps about the way he was marketed. Valkenburg's concluding remarks are quite interesting. First, he reverts to a common form of essentialism when he sums up three issues that make up the identity of Villa-Lobos as a composer. Subsequently he corrects this by stressing the classical image of hybridity (*café com leite*) and referring to Villa-Lobos' identity as a life-long process.³⁶ Identities are similar to races; they do not really exist, but are constructed by sets of definitions. The racial paradigm has become more or less obsolete, but is by and large replaced by the concept of ethnicity. Music in the ontological sense of 'our' music (versus 'their' music) can play a tremendously important role in defining such identities.³⁷

Schools or traditions of music are another example of reified identities. In Indian music, these are known as *gharana* (for *khayal*), *baj* (instruments) or *vani* (*dhrupad*). These schools are powerful social organizations supported by an extensive ideological canon. Part of this ideology is to claim an ascendance to legendary musicians that lived many centuries ago. Interestingly, the schools came into being much later than the times in which those legendary musicians lived. The schools are supposed to represent a distinct musical style, a clear identity. In reality however, differences among great musicians within a school may be greater than differences across school-boundaries (at any rate there is no scientific method for measuring these differences). Finally, it should be noted that many of the greatest musicians learned in two or more schools, and through intermarriage the schools also have many 'hybrid' branches.³⁸

Process in Music

When we speak of hybridity, we refer to a process rather than a state. Hybridity is by nature an interaction. Identities have usually been reified into fixed entities, but we can see at present that a growing number of scholars look at identity as a process, as becoming rather than being.³⁹ Some of the terms traditionally used in describing cultural change are acculturation (transculturation, hybridization, syncretism, synthesis), innovation (invention, creation), permutation (reordering, reorganization), and reduction (impoverishment, abandonment).⁴⁰

This terminology requires a brief scrutiny. 'Acculturation' has become an objectionable and obsolete term because of its connotation of adaptation of a lower cultural form to a higher (politically dominant) one. 'Transculturation'⁴¹ is still used, but perhaps has lost popularity to 'hybridization'. 'Syncretism' and 'synthesis' suggest 'results', i.e. final states rather than processes. 'Innovation', 'invention' and especially 'creativity' are very much part of the vocabulary of traditional history and criticism of (art and urban) music. It is strongly dogmatic (in western culture) that the 'progress' of the art is described in terms of 'creativity' of the 'genius'. The phenomenon of reorganization rarely appears in sociological literature, which is curious since it seems to be so important in all contemporary organizations. Rearranging the furniture in the house may not be spectacular enough for the sociologist, but it can have an enormous influence on the use of space. In music, many improvisational and compositional techniques are based on reordering. In fact, we can very well ask the

36 Cf. Simon Frith, 'Music and Identity', in: *Questions of Cultural Identity*, S. Hall and P. duGay (eds.), London 1996, pp. 108-127. Nicholas Cook, *Analysing musical multimedia*, Oxford 1998.

37 Philip V. Bohlman, 'Ontologies of Music', in: N. Cook and M. Everist (eds.), *Rethinking Music*, Oxford 1999.

38 Wim van der Meer, *Hindustani Music in the Twentieth Century*, The Hague 1980.

39 Frith, 'Music and Identity'.

40 Margaret Kartomi, 'The processes and Results of Musical Culture Contact: A Discussion of Terminology and Concepts', *Ethnomusicology* 25/2 (May 1981), pp. 227-249. Margaret Kartomi and Stephen Blum, *Music-Cultures in Contact, Convergences and Collisions*, Basel 1994.

41 Fernando Ortiz, *Contrapunteo Cubano del Tabaco y el Azúcar*, Havana, 1940, pp. ix-xvi.

question if not all creativity in music is a form of reordering. Finally, 'reduction' often is discussed in relation to environmental change and it could well be compared to the 'survival of the fittest'.

Musical concepts and ideas are continuously regrouping, hybridizing, renovating and what not, but only some will survive for some time. This survival depends largely on the surrounding society, both in appreciation, stimulation, marketing and rejection. Ethnomusicologists have often lamented the extinction of whole forms of music. Of the many genres of European music that Lomax recorded in the middle of the twentieth century more than half is no longer practiced.

Bhabha describes hybridity as follows: '[this] interstitial passage between fixed identifications opens up the possibility of a cultural hybridity that entertains difference without an assumed or imposed hierarchy'.⁴² He also insists that it is 'neither one thing nor the other',⁴³ thereby implying that he follows neither a monistic nor a dualistic model. This is important, because it is possibly the only key to understanding culture (and music within culture) today. In my opinion this holds true not only for tribal, popular, traditional and contemporary musics that depend very much on the 'moment now', but also for 'dead' composers, since dead composers are only relevant insofar as they are alive in the minds of listeners, performers, composers, and scholars (in that order?). Bhabha's concept of 'neither one thing nor the other' points to the paradox that culture is in a constant state of flux and yet is revealed to us in specific static forms, shapes, states, entities, and, yes indeed, identities. Bhabha cites a passage by Guillermo Gomez-Perea on hybridity that illustrates this:

'The bankrupt notion of the melting pot has been replaced by a model that is more germane

to the times, that of the *menudo chowder*. According to this model, most of the ingredients do melt, but some stubborn chunks are condemned merely to float. Vergigratia!⁴⁴

This holds true for music as well; or, reversing the issue, music is the perfect model for understanding cultural process.

Objectification and Appropriation

The understanding that scores and recordings are reifications with a limited relevance for music in its totality leads to a very important methodological issue, the question of practice-based research. For the score, this implies making the writings (re)sound; for recordings it means practically knowing how the 'sounding' has come about. Writing and recording of music vest enormous power in whoever controls the score or the recording. The copyright question is intricate enough in western society, but when there is no legal system, and when there are no lawyers to provide scene and actors in a costly and depressing drama, the only thing that remains is straightforward plundering. As Frith puts it:

'The problem here is not just the familiar post-modern point that we live in an age of plunder in which musics made in one place for one reason can be immediately appropriated in another place for quite another reason, but also that while music may be shaped by the people who first make and use it, as experience it has a life of its own.'⁴⁵

It is quite common among artists to 'borrow' (or steal) musical ideas from others. Or as Picasso is supposed to have said: 'Good artists copy from others, great artists steal'. Some maintain that the only solution to this problem is to totally liberalize music, i.e. abandon every form of copyright.⁴⁶ It is however not the small

42 Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, p. 4.

43 Ibidem, pp. 25, 28.

44 Ibidem, p. 218.

45 Frith, 'Music and Identity', p. 109.

musician who stands to lose here, but rather the multinationals that make and possess the pop stars. As a result, Smiers' utopian vision will probably never come through. Still, the jungle of hybridization in music – or the musical cannibalism, as tropicalist Caetano Veloso would call it⁴⁷ – will continue to produce ever-new shades of style and genre.

Ethnomusicologists have used the most rigorous methodology for objectifying, essentializing, and appropriating music of the other. First they record it (Sachs considered the invention of sound-recording one of the necessary preconditions for the beginning of this branch of knowledge), then they transcribe the recording, in the process reducing and distorting it in such a way as to fit in with their own western categories of musical thought. Kunst even indicates which colour of beads to bring to which island to convince the natives to 'part' with their music.⁴⁸ All this of course with the best intentions, because ethnomusicology is essentially Marxist musicology, if, once again, I may paraphrase Kerman.⁴⁹

Indian classical musicians are very wary of persons trying to 'steal' their music. Music is to them, very much like in the west, a property or commodity that has a market value. Since a musician can keep singing the same song over and over again, he truly possesses the chicken with the golden eggs. But once he parts with a song, or when it is extracted from him by force or temptation, the chicken is dead.

Amerindians of the Amazon have a tremendous interest in the music of 'other' tribes. Trying to conceal music from other tribes, attempting to steal music by listening from afar, intertribal festivities with which certain songs come along but others remain secret: these are all part of a major activity that sur-

rounds the proprietary rights of music and the powers that go with it. For, whereas the four levels of language handle different types of communication among humans, the nine levels of music provide communication with all the other 'entities' of the forest.⁵⁰ Indeed, hybridization is rarely an act of love.

In the introduction to his stupendous project *Música do Brasil*⁵¹ Hermano Vianna says:

'It is not interesting to classify the recorded music as traditional or folk. Very often such denominations obscure the musical reality that is being recorded. *Música do Brasil* didn't go out there to hunt for lost purity or authenticity. The music recorded is alive, and life always implies transformation, confusion, complexity, change. They [musics] interact, dialogue with other musics that circulate through the media, by all means of communication, absorbing elements, but also exporting ideas, rhythms, melodies. In a sense they are linked into a network with other musics – with each other but also with the world of pop. If in São Brás, a region of the supposedly authentic samba-de-roda, we have encountered an electric guitar inspiring the dancers we have not refrained from documenting it. Samba-de-roda, as any other musical genre, has a long history of change, proposed or imposed by the outside world or by forces from within its own circle.

It would also be simplistic to think that the recordings of *Música do Brasil* (and the very presence of the team in the communities where the recordings were made), have not participated in this transformation. For, there is no such thing as pure recording, a recording that takes the music as it is, without influence from the person or the machinery that records. Recording (...) is a

46 Joost Smiers, vide <http://www.rockrap.com/nomusicbiz/holland.html>.

47 Caetano Veloso, *Tropical Truth. A Story of Music & Revolution in Brazil*, New York 2002 (Engl. transl. of *Verdade Tropical*, 1997).

48 Jaap Kunst, *Musicologica*, Amsterdam 1950, p. 28.

49 Kerman, *Contemplating Music*, p. 159.

50 Menezes Bastos, *A musicológica Kamayurá*, pp. 101-186. Seeger, *Studies in Musicology*, pp. 44-51.

51 In which over a hundred musical genres were documented in a period of one year, traversing more than 80.000 km.

succession of choices, artistic and political-cultural, that determines the final result that gets onto the CD. What's the best place to record, where to put the mikes, which mike to use for which instrument, what recorder to use? These questions can only be answered by a process of negotiation between the recording team and the musicians. And the people, like Caetano Veloso, "refuse to folklorize their underdevelopment to compensate the technical limitations".⁵²

As such, recording also is recreating...

Practice-Based Research

When an Indian musician performs he constructs and deconstructs at the same time. To put it in Cook's words, 'as soon as it [music] comes into being it has already disappeared, swallowed up into silence, leaving no trace'.⁵³ Unless we understand the process practically, any analysis of a recording fails to understand its working. That working cannot be described in hindsight, because it is about the split second decisions that the musician makes while creating and destroying. Of course, such performing – often (misleadingly) referred to as 'improvisation' – does not fall from the sky. It is rooted in many years of training and many more years of 'thinking music', 'contemplating music', 'meditating music', or 'composing'. Apparently Bach worked much in the same way, and I wonder if he would have taken the trouble to commit his 'improvisations' to paper if he could have simply switched on his minidisk recorder.

Scores are not only reifications; they are also simplifications. Musicians 'know' how to perform the score. But do they really? Research into the interpretation of scores is not a superficial study of the icing of the cake. Similarly, studying recordings from the point of view of a performer can help to understand the choic-

es that were made, and why. Here we hopefully get to the deepest level of the working of music. This is very much the subject matter of music cognition and music theory. This kind of research has only become possible with modern technology.⁵⁴

Music and its Others

At this point we have to come back to the 'scope of music' (to paraphrase Adler). Can we define or perhaps even identify music? What about its 'others', gesture, dance, theater, film, text? What is the nature of their interrelation? Do we speak of synthesis or perhaps of amalgamation? Again, a performing art can occur in its 'pure' form, such as an instrumental sonata (or Cage's silence), a recited poem, a silent pantomime. How 'pure' this really is, is very debatable, but also it is very rare. Most of the performing arts are hybrid arts. Think of dance accompanied by drumming and singing, of the gestures of musicians in performance, of the poetry that blends with the singing. We may well extend this to other fields of life, for music blends into work, ritual, ceremony, party, festivity, and almost any other cultural process. Yet, to look at music and work as a hybrid process seems like crossbreeding a horse with a room.

Be that as it may, the study of multimediality in the performing arts is as inevitable as the recognition of the very hybrid nature of any performing art. Looking at MTV, The Music Box, and TME, I have rarely heard a piece without words; it is all sung poetry. Yves Bonnefoy once said that Bob Dylan is not poetry, and certain musicologists may think that the music of Brel is trivial. As an answer to such qualifications, Nicholas Cook has done a wonderful job in analysing *Material Girl* from the angles of music, text, and video.⁵⁵ Only slowly is the notion seeping through that poetry in the con-

52 Hermano Vianna, *Música do Brasil*, Ed. Abril 2000, pp. i-ii, translation from the Portuguese by WvdM.

53 Cook, *Music, A Very Short Introduction*, p. 48.

54 As has been discussed by Henkjan Honing in the same series. Honing, 'The Comeback of Systematic Musicology', *Tijdschrift voor Muziektheorie* 9/3 (2004).

55 Cook, *Analyzing Multimedia*, pp. 147-173.

text of music is not the same thing as poetry printed on a sheet. Only slowly is it understood that the music that accompanies a motion picture is (often) different from music played out of this context. The *café com leite* (neither one thing nor the other) image of hybridity in culture should perhaps be extended to the analogy of the brick.⁵⁶ The music may be trivial and the poetry stupid, but the combination can be overwhelming. Again, in a score, we will see the music and the text separately. But – how wonderful! – we can hear both as a totality. Which of course is true not only for all the multimedia aspects of performing arts, but also within the music – polyphony, rhythm, and melody.

Hybrid musicology

Ideally, musicology would be able to study, if not every music, then at least any music that may be found in the world. To be sure, the number of musics is bewildering. Probably every single language also represents a music (languages are estimated to number more than 5000). Within some language areas there are many different musics. Only rarely does a music family comprise several language groups, as is the case of classical western music (perhaps several dozens?) or classical Indian music (the northern comprising about twenty, and the southern comprising four major languages). Anglo-American globalized pop music may also be considered to be current among many language groups, either in English or in translated versions. Musicologies have emerged as pendants of a particular music, and the tools for studying that music are usually very much directed and limited to that music. This is what I have called 'endomusicology'.

There have been numerous cases of 'musicologists' studying 'other' musics, long before comparative musicology and ethnomusicology made claims to this field of knowledge (as has been shown among others by Boilès et Nattiez, and also by Bor⁵⁷). Generally it is an awkward and clumsy business that I have referred to as 'exomusicology'. It gives that feeling of trying to drive a nail into the wall with a saw. However, it can be very interesting and inspiring, especially when a very serious effort is made to understand why hammers are better tools for driving nails and what (musical) miracles can be performed with saws. Somehow, music all over the world does have certain common ground in pitched sounds, rhythm and melody. Genetically, the tools for perceiving and producing music are very similar. Where comparative and general linguistics continue to be very viable fields, there is no reason why comparative and systematic musicology should not grow towards and blend into an approach that I have characterized as 'metamusicology'. Ellis's study of musical intervals in different musical systems,⁵⁸ and Daniélou's 'tableau comparatif des intervalles musicaux'⁵⁹ could be considered attempts in this direction. It seems to me, however, that the cognitive approach holds a much greater promise. Finally, I have pointed to a branch of knowledge that is not a *musicological* but rather a *musical* way of thinking, either about music itself (immanent music) or about the world outside music (musico-logic), for which perhaps the designation 'paramusicology' is appropriate.

My aim at outlining these four branches of musicology as a sequel to Adler's 'Umfang, Methode und Ziel' article from 1885 is not to

56 The story goes that if you throw the ingredients of a brick at a person he may not be happy, but will also not be hurt, but when you throw the baked mixture at someone the effect will be different.

57 Charles Boilès, et Jean-Jacques Nattiez, 'Petite histoire critique de l'Ethnomusicologie', *Musique en jeu* 28 (1977), p. 26-53. Joep Bor, 'The Rise of Ethnomusicology: Sources on Indian Music c.1780 - c.1890', in: *Teaching Musics of the World*, eds. M. Lieth-Philipp and A. Gutzwiller, Affalterbach 1995.

58 Alexander Ellis, 'On the Musical Scales of Various Nations', *Journal of the Society of Arts* 33 (1885), pp. 485-527.

59 Alain Daniélou, *Tableau comparatif des intervalles musicaux*, Pondichery 1958.

institute four new societies for which membership is open, and which have corresponding departments in universities. Rather, it is to point out the need for understanding that musicology, like music, must be fundamentally hybrid. When we speak of thousands of different musics around the world, we have to refer back to the concept of race. And much the same goes for (spoken) language. Between the Dutch language spoken at the North Sea coast and the Swiss spoken in the east of Switzerland there is an almost infinite checkerboard of Germanic dialects that flow into each other. Dutch and German are (late) reified codifications of political entities, which of course do have a feedback on the local dialects through the educational systems in the different countries. Between musics the hybridizations, the borrowings, the incursions of one into another may even be stronger than with language. But rather than being 'neither one thing nor the other' a hybrid musicology would aim at being 'both this and that'. Musics, like races, are not inherently separate entities.

The ways in which identities are constructed are surely much more varied than the occurrence of 'stubborn chunks' that resist melting into the infinite hybrid soup. On the one hand it is constructed as the crossing point of multiple associations (the 'group of web affiliations' of Simmel⁶⁰ or the later concept of networks as developed in social anthropology in the 1960s), but at the same time it is defined *in relation to* alterity. This can be seen not only regionally, but also in time (old/new) and social environment (high/low).

Musicology at Amsterdam University

Traditionally, musicology in Amsterdam has paid special attention to contemporary music, ethnomusicology, and performance. Recently,

in collaboration with the Amsterdam Conservatory of Music, music theory has become yet another specialization. The MA specializations are: Western music studies, World music studies and Music theory. In all of these, performance, the actual process of the sounding of music, is a central issue, but not as a separate MA specialization. Evidently, such an approach is very much in line with Bhabha's performative view of culture. And also, the specializations are not tightly closed compartments – quite on the contrary! This is reflected in courses that are given by two or more teachers and in which different angles are offered to the students – explicitly searching for complementarity and interaction of methods.

Hybridity is a key concept in both World music studies and the study of Contemporary music, and more so where these fields meet. Hybrid musicology not only receives attention in the sense of attempting to study transnational musics through translational musicologies, but also in the sense of '*musicology* and its others', dramaturgy, choreology and multimedia arts. The specific profile of musicology at the University of Amsterdam does not mean that there is no room for specializing in 'traditional' western musicology, or for that matter in a variety of directions, types of music, or geographical areas. As Ellen Rosand remarked in 1994: 'Unless there is place for all kinds of fine scholars (...) the discipline of musicology will be sorely impoverished'.⁶¹

On the other hand, a new millennium, already a few years old, calls for new approaches that not only cross the borders of traditional disciplines but also look over the fence of the backyard. And that implies not only looking beyond geographic boundaries – an inevitable consequence of globalization (and of course the other is very much present within our

60 Georg Simmel, *Conflict & The Web of Group Affiliations*, New York 1954. (Engl. transl. of *Die Kreuzung sozialer Kreise*, 1922).

61 David Greer, with Ian Rumbold and Jonathan King (eds.), *Musicology and sister disciplines: past, present, future: proceedings of the 16th International congress of the International Musicological Society* (London 1997) Oxford 2000, pp. 182-183.

boundaries), but also looking musicologically at the musics of other subcultures, in particular pop(ular) music, jazz and folk music. I believe that the rise of world music and the increased commercialization that have marked the past decade pose a very serious threat on 'Hornbostelian' musics that still survive in the distant corners of our world. Only when we understand how important hybridization has been in the development of all music do we come to appreciate the value of this musidiversity. We may not be able to preserve all these rare gems (even in archives), but by studying them we may give them a stimulus to survive just a little longer, and to find 'strategies to enter and leave modernity'.⁶²

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62 Nestor García Canclini, *Culturas Híbridas, Estrategias para entrar y salir de la modernidad*, Mexico 1989.