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## **The Local and the Global: Traditional Musical Instruments and Modernization**

**Max Peter Baumann**

### *Abstract*

*Today regional traditions have an interactive relationship with musical multilingualism and intercultural music-making and improvisation. In our age of tourism, migration, and the growing closer of the world and of technologically determined globalization, the conceptualization of culture and region is musically realized in highly individual and differentiated ways. The region in which music is made is thereby to be differentiated from the (trans)region that is presented symbolically through music. For a long time now, musical identity no longer refers simply one-dimensionally to a single region. In the area of music, increasing multipolar orientations create a continuous deconstruction of concepts of culture and identity. The local and the region, the national and the global have become interconnected in the cultural process of tradition to a "glocal" network.*

### **1. Nationalism, Globalization, and Modernity**

Two major trends emerge from the 20th-century understanding of history: 1) modern criticism of the traditional or essentialist understanding of culture, and the reaction to this criticism; and 2) the conscious return to a cultural philosophy of the revitalization of the past. It has been shown, however, that after economic disasters, world wars, world revolutions, the dwindling of religious belief, and the loss of meaning and disorientation of values, neither conservative thinking nor conventional measures, neither old values nor transmitted norms are sufficient to solve the problems of the present, not to speak of those of the future (Sandvoss 1994:320). And so we ask the question, "What are the new values of a globalized society?"

With its radical affirmation of cultural plurality, postmodernism provided insight into the concept of culturally dependent constructions of value. In many areas, however, the collapse of cultural concepts that had been previously perceived in an essentialist way took on the dimensions of a new disorientation. For in the end, the affirmation to a radical pluralism signified a transformed fundamental situation in

which each valuating new positioning of advancing differences became again deconstructable. The processes of new identification that are mutually connected with this, or the processes of deidentification that result from this, both produce puzzles which—in the clash of mental constructs—demonstrates radical plurality as direct experience. Individual contents, ideas, positions, values and identifications are continuously decentralized and are thereby increasingly readable in the sense of differentiated codes (Welsch 1993:324).

The diversity of the local is present in an accelerated way in global discourse; at the same time however it is also ambiguously valued in new contexts. This counteracts the “uniformization effects of expanding worlds of function” (Welsch 1993:324). Thus diversity has become a form of creative freedom. All cultural phenomena are—according to Wolfgang Iser—meant moreover “only as ‘mixed forms’” (1996:23). This stands out in principle from other traditionalist ideas and ideologies in the interpretation of culture as “authentic” and “ideal,” an interpretation that is regarded as antiquated. The exclusivist understanding of the logic of one national culture is connected with the romantic demand for one “truth” (e.g., of knowledge), one “beauty” (of aesthetics) and of one “goodness” (of moral and politics). This exclusivity has slowly but continually become more differentiated in the course of the clash of different world and cultural horizons. This differentiation took place in the perception of many logics in the local and international juxtaposition of different concepts of knowledge, interpretations of taste and moral concepts. The concepts of science emphasized by Jürgen Habermas (1994:184) included 1) the cognitive-instrumental, 2) the aesthetic-expressive and 3) the moral-practical. These concepts know not only one but rather many internal histories on the local, regional, national and transnational levels. These histories can no longer be lumped together hierarchically in a modern concept of one culture or in a major narrative tradition.

## **2. On the Cult of Cultural Identity in the Process of Globalization, or the Struggle for Authenticity, Social Identity and Self-determination**

By means of the world market, the process of globalization is already a given reality and is hardly ever questioned any more by business concerns. What is questioned, however, is cultural globalization. Globalization places existing cultural identity concepts in an uncertain position. In reaction to it, opposition and subversion often develop. In particular, disadvantaged groups form based on regional-cultural identity concepts and present their political objectives. Such objectives above all deal with self-determination, which however increasingly comes into conflict with increasing desires related to consumerism. Fears of globalization are based on a theory of rationalization (Weber) or a theory of cultural imperialism (Tomlinson), as well as the subsequent theories of homogenization and standardization (Gramsci and Adorno). Fears refer to the theses of cultural articles as goods that are subject less to cultural-immanent aesthetics than to the laws of the market (Adorno). Or else the fears are

based on the thesis of McDonaldization (Ritzer), that is the adaptation of taste on the basis of sales charts and listener rates (e.g., “top of the pops”). In their study *Big Sounds from Small Peoples*, Wallis and Malm (1984) differentiate between four different models of cultural exchange:

1. cultural exchange under relatively evenly balanced conditions,
2. cultural dominance, in which one culture dominates over another,
3. cultural imperialism, in which dominance is strengthened by the flow of capital and resources from the dominating culture into the dominated one, and back again, and
4. transculture, which is determined by worldwide operating, transnational corporations and their technological transfers and marketing strategies in the creation of new consumer needs.

With their model, Wallis and Malm display general, fundamental tendencies. The reality, however, shows itself to be more complex in individual cases and since the 1990s can be seen rather in the context of differing “image-centered, narrative-based mediascapes” (Apparudai 1990:299). In regard to this, Brian Longhurst (1995:53) believes that

Such mediascapes would not be the product of one group or controlling organization, but involve complex negotiations and struggles around the placing together of different elements. The mediascape is like a landscape in that it can be seen in different ways from alternative perspectives and is relatively open to different uses. The idea suggests that configurations of media are very complex, and that while they are affected by operations of power, they are not simply subject to the whims of powerful corporations or governments.

The leading role of major concerns is actually recognized, but Langhurst simultaneously pleads for a specifically analytic approach to the “mediascape”: “It suggests that more attention should be paid to the production (and consumption) of music in specific local contexts, as part of a consideration of the interaction of the global and the local (ibid.:53).

### **3. Multipolar Mutual Interaction and Global Society**

From the point of view of the world market, culturally based boundaries and identity concepts are rather viewed as a drawback to the free-market economy. Particularly criticized in this regard is the essentialist static concept of culture that is continually revived and its cultural criticism against technology. Particularly in the cult and conscious preservation of regional or national identity concepts (“*miar sin miar*”), musical folklore has repeatedly taken recourse to the imagined territory, the authentic, the traditional, and the typical or characteristic.

In the wake of strengthening nationalism in the 19th century, such topics were raised to the national level. As new ideas regarding national states were still young,

the concept of “nation” was rather a progressive symbol for integration and identification that helped overcome particularistic thinking. But under the cloak of the national concept, this nationalism tended to attach itself to emotionally determined cultural conceptions and idiosyncrasies. The cultural factor thus referred as a rule to the rural folklore of a preindustrial, imaginary country life and revealed thereby, and in cooperation with restorative powers, an essentialistically influenced behavioral structure. Through the mental constructs of ethnic-mythic narratives, of authenticity and of (racial) purity in German National Socialism, the ethnic space was conceived to the point of absurdity in a theory of “*Blut und Boden*” (blood and earth). Even today, the principle of territoriality and that of origin in association with a specific interpretation of culture and home (*Heimat*) is still latently existent among many people. This is repeatedly revealed in the unending discussion about the *Ausländerfrage* (issues concerning foreigners).

Interrelationships between different cultures have been, however, quite strong throughout Europe for many centuries, not only in questions concerning houses of royalty, the economy and trade, cooking, and flora and fauna, but also in issues related to religion and culture, not to speak of European and non-European music histories. Transnational developments are, historically regarded, nothing new. However, in the age of globalization, what is new is: the omnipresence of media technologies that are structured on a worldwide basis; the unbelievably accelerated time lapses tied to these in terms of innovations and; the continuous pressure toward permanent change. Business corporations serve as driving powers behind the technical and economic means of globalization. In the final analysis, these powers create conditions that even make states with authoritarian structures partners for negotiation. The postulate can be derived from this situation that economic rights are negotiated on the global level. These should be later broadened to also include social and cultural rights. The United Nations postulates on human rights convey in this regard the globally conceived, regulating idea of peaceful coexistence on the basis of completely different cultural traditions.

#### **4. On the Path Toward a Transnational Cultural Society**

Ever since the 19th century, musical instruments have served as conceptions of national icons. Already in 1827, the Belgian music researcher Francois Joseph Fétis described in his article “*Sur les instruments nationaux*” (*Revue Musicale* 1, 1827:418ff.) various European folklore instruments under the concept of nationally marked recognition value. Even then, individual nations were associated with particular “typical” instruments, such as the alphorn with Switzerland, the guitar with Spain, the bagpipes with Scotland and the harp with Ireland (cf. Bachmann-Geiser 1999:98). Still, attributing instruments to an entire nation was indeed nothing new. In his *Musiva Universalis*, written around 1650, Athanasius Kircher had already desig-

nated that plucked instrument that had derived from the Moor lute and became later the European guitar as *Cytharæ hispanicæ*, in other words, the Spanish guitar.

The 19th century was increasingly influenced by Romantic ideas related to national customs as well as national characters. The “national” as a concept was first an anticipation of the formation of national states and thus had an integrative, progressive function, a function that logically served itself to existing clichés and stereotypes. The internal integration of a state signifies demarcation and making oneself distinct from the outside by imagining, constructing, and emphasizing particular (national) characteristics. Only in the later phase of consolidation, that is, after 1900, as the *Heimatschutzbewegung* (movement to protect the homeland) gathered strength throughout Europe, did the “national” become consciously cared for and historically staged. This usually took place, however, as a result of resentment against a world perceived as changing too quickly. The festivals and dance and/or music gatherings that resulted were, until the Second World War, usually still transregional or national gatherings.

On the other hand, a more worldly perspective had already emerged with the idea of world exhibitions (from 1850 in London) and particularly with that of Paris in 1889, where the art of the exotic became an important theme. However the conception that countries would become involved in competition with each other over technical advancement was emphasized above all—as in the larger world exhibitions—by the cultural side of national pride. In accompanying programs to national presentations, folklore and folkloristic presentations delivered appropriate means of identification and in this way also promoted the idea of competition of national cultures. In the competition of different national styles, the Own is still emphasized in its difference with the Other. This emphasis of the self was continuously stereotyped and canonized to a transregional-national cliché.

In the 21st century, the identification concept of “national” will be increasingly superseded in the Occident by that of “Europe.” “Europe” has become a forward-pushing, positive identifying element. In conceptions of action, the concept will become more important in the future as that of “nation,” although here as well—in the idea of a “Europe of cultures”—a backward move toward a nationally determined countermovement can also be perceived. Using a broadened concept of culture, one can also refer consciously not to the “Europe of Nations” but rather to the “Europe of Regions.”

Integrating competition within the “Europe of Regions” is promoted, for example, through festival concepts that want to see several “regions” involved in the planning, organization and realization of such festivals. As a result of encounters in workshops, musicians often play together who leave behind individual styles and create new expressive forms in a creative form of cooperation. Such folkloristic jam sessions continually break through essentialist interpretations of “authentic traditions.” Already since the 1980s, syncretism, fusion and world music have all begun to shake the boundaries between traditions. Today free access to all possible musics, musical instruments, styles, sounds and musical conceptions is possible in principle

to a much higher degree than 25 years ago; at that time, this diversity was not reachable to this extent. It is the musicians who today select, newly configure, historicize, sample, innovate and synthesize from the offerings available, following their individually conceived or organized concepts of tradition. In an age when a television with satellite connections stands in the men's house of a village of the Kayapó Indians, local thinking and action are directly confronted with global ideas and values. The "authenticity" of the Own, social identification and the question of self-determination are all being questioned and must be newly negotiated and determined, both within the group as well as without.

### 5. Changes in Values and in Cultural Concepts

In the course of the past 200 years, music and musical instruments have attained increasing symbolic significance for nationally determined conceptions. Since the end of World War II, growing numbers of instruments from more and more nations have reached the universal information pool that includes large music festivals and the global media landscape. In the recent years leading to the 21st century, the quickly rising flood of information has been a decisive factor in the creation of a supra-regional, transnational and finally transcultural consciousness. In the musical field, this information flood has been characterized by the following *factors in creation of a transcultural consciousness*:

- The ethnological documentation of traditional music cultures since the foundation of phonogram archives around 1900.
- The *International Council for Traditional Music* (founded 1947) and the *Society for Ethnomusicology* (founded 1953).
- Publication of various record series on musics of the world.
- Migration of "Gastarbeiter," general mobility and worldwide tourism since the 1960s.
- Folk revival movement since the Newport Folk Festival of 1959 and the Women's Music Festival since 1980.
- Anglo-American, European and Latin American folk movements (the first two since the 1960s, the last since Allende's fall in 1973).
- Organization of folk and world music festivals in all major cities of the world (e.g., WOMAD, or World of Music and Dance Festival, since 1982; Festivals of the *Extra European Arts Committee*).
- Perception of "exotic" musical instruments in the context of jazz festivals (Jazz Meets the World, MPS record label from 1968, produced by Joachim E. Berndt).
- Music projects by well-known musicians such as Paul Simon, Peter Gabriel, David Byrne, Ry Cooder, Led Zeppelin, Santana and others.
- The critics of the "mentality of cultural colonialism" (cf. Warnier 1999:78-83) and of the world-wide missionizing as intellectual heritage of the 19th century

(against the establishment of Western music conservatories in the so-called “third world countries” by mutual forbidence of the indigenous music traditions).

- Discussions on multiculturalism since the 1980s (Bade 1996:135; Volk 1998).
- The UNESCO Mexico conference of 1982, with its avowal to support cultural diversity (Schöfthaler / Dyroff 1996)
- The world-wide deregulation of the market since the fall of the Wall in Berlin (1989).
- The UNESCO recommendation on the “Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore,” 1989.
- The airport and souvenir cultures, whereby typical musical instruments of each land are sold to tourists (who will probably never play them).
- The new media, from cassettes to CDs and PCs, from radio to Internet and Napster (also multicultural radio programs).
- Global pop and *Planet Soup*: a collection of cross-cultural hybrids, 1995 (s. Tylor 1997:187). These are projects since 1995 which reach far beyond the traditional concepts of Western dominated *World Fusion Music* and the *World Beat* (vgl. Nettl 1992; Schnabel 1998; Taylor 1997; Guilbault 1997).
- The UNESCO proclamation of “Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity, 1997.
- Save Our Sounds (America’s Recorded Sound Heritage Project at the Smithsonian Institution and the Library of Congress, 2001)

Together with the deregulation of world markets, which was translated into the concept of free flow of capital, commodities and ideas, the aspect of new cultural creativity was simultaneously adopted (Appadurai 1995). At first the new information on traditional music cultures was consolidated according to the old patterns of nationally understood cultural concepts, musical types and instruments. But the traditional in music, in the narrower sense, was left behind on the sidelines compared to the market-dominating “world music.” At the same time, traditional music groups as well were indirectly promoted through major campaigns by pop stars like Sting, Peter Gabriel, Paul Simon and Milton Nascimento and through world music festivals (as held by the Smithsonian Institution and Musée de l’Homme and in many major cities of Europe, the Americas and Asia). A new consciousness of the differences between music cultures of the world was thus created by famous artists in a synergy effect. Now, in addition to perceiving individual music cultures, listeners increasingly perceive the potential of cultural expressive forms in a transcultural way. The musics of different cultures are used as building blocks for new, denationalized musical creations.

Secularization, democratization, equality principles and individualization have established themselves to some degree in almost all societies. The increasingly global influences of the information society have produced commensurate new knowledge about cultures and the musical traditions and instruments of different countries. The rigid borderlines between entertainment music, classic, jazz, pop and rock began



to dissolve in the context of world beat, ethno pop, world music or fusion. A change in mentality gradually took place, away from the romantic ideas of purism that believed in the authentic and traditional. Multicultural and transcultural desires for experimentation gradually asserted themselves, sometimes breaking through ethnocentric and national concepts. On the whole, a change in consciousness can be determined, particularly in dynamic cultural concepts. To summarize, these *mental constructs and cultural concepts* are: 1) the traditional; 2) the expanded; and 3) the transcultural concepts of culture:

1. The romantic concept of ethnically centered action on the basis of the Local can be designated the *traditional cultural concept*, which derives from the 19th century (the “traditional village” as the home of one’s central values). This is marked in an essentialist way by ethnocentric and national perspectives.
2. The *expanded concept* of interethnic action situates the intra- and intercultural coexistence of a native population and immigrants in the Local (Baumann 1985). The clashing values of different cultures are mentally tolerated in a conscious way as “diversity,” and are fundamentally accepted and respected in their difference (“global village”).
3. Interethnic action is increasingly determined by the horizons of consciousness of the media-influenced Global. Within local action, a deterritorialized and *transcultural consciousness* can already be perceived that makes references to the most diverse and distant cultures without being directly confronted at home with those experiences (Baumann 2001). In the mentality of the cosmopolitan person, the entire world is an eclectic treasure chest from which she can create her own individual creativity (“glocal” action).

It would be a mistake to think that one cultural concept has made another obsolete. Quite on the contrary, an emblem of the postmodern is precisely that diversity is maintained and that different mental constructs can be expressed, simultaneously or successively, in different, or even in the same, musical groups.

## **6. Musical Instruments as Cultural Icons—The Localization of the Traditional**

In connection with an article on globalizing *hula*, the ethnomusicologist Amy Stillman has written: “All musical instruments are part of the world culture, and the free flow of people, capital, cultural goods and music on a global scale determine that musical practices are not any longer centered to places and peoples of origin” (Stillman 1999:57). She goes on to say that cultural practices are still spread through the migration of people away from their homelands, but that mass communication means have also made possible the separation of ideas and practices from the physical presence of their cultural carriers. On the global level, as a rule musical instruments are still attributed with national qualities. To the question, which musical instruments are con-

sidered to be “national,” to represent a national entity, it quickly emerges that their numbers have increased in past years due to media activity. A list of traditional instruments will provide an overview, without being able to be comprehensive, of how the recognition value of instruments automatically and almost inescapably makes us connect them with a particular country or region.

|                |                |                        |                    |
|----------------|----------------|------------------------|--------------------|
| Alphorn        | Switzerland    | Celtic Harp            | Ireland            |
| Anklung        | Southeast Asia | Kokle                  | Latvia             |
| Argdul         | Egypt          | Koto                   | Japan              |
| Balalaika      | Russia         | Launeddas              | Sardinia           |
| Bandonion      | Argentina      | Lyra                   | Greece             |
| Banjo          | U.S.A.         | Maraca                 | South America      |
| Berimbau       | Brazil         | Mbira (Sanza, Likembe) | Zambia             |
| Bodhran        | Ireland        | Morinchur              | Mongolia           |
| Brummtopf      | Germany        | Musette                | France             |
| Charango       | Bolivia        | Nycjelharpa            | Sweden             |
| Chin           | China          | Pan flute              | Peru, Romania      |
| Cimbalom       | Hungary        | Sarangi                | India              |
| Cuica          | Brazil         | Saz                    | Turkey             |
| Darabuka       | Turkey         | Shamanic drum          | Siberia            |
| Davids harp    | Ethiopia       | Shamisen               | Japan              |
| Davul-Zurna    | Turkey         | Shakuhachi             | Japan              |
| Deutsche Laute | Germany        | Shékere                | Cuba               |
| Didjeridu      | Australia      | Sitar                  | India              |
| Djembé         | Guinea         | Sistrum                | Egypt              |
| Dudelsack      | Scotland       | Steel band             | Trinidad           |
| Duduk          | Armenia        | Talking Drum           | Nigeria            |
| Erh-hu         | China          | Tambourine             | Sicily             |
| Gamelan        | Java, Bali     | Tablas                 | India              |
| Guitar         | Spain          | Taiko                  | Japan              |
| Gusle          | Yugoslavia     | Tin Whistle            | Ireland            |
| Guero          | Cuba           | Ud                     | Arabic count.      |
| Hackbrett      | Germany        | Ukulele                | Hawaii             |
| Kora           | West Africa    | Vina                   | India              |
| Kanun          | Turkey         | Xylophone              | Sub-Saharan Africa |
| Castanets      | Spain          |                        |                    |

*Fig. 1: Musical instruments or instrument ensembles that are often identified as “national icons.”*

Many of the listed instruments are now sold in general music stores and in Germany in so-called “third world” stores, as well as being played—sometimes by musicians from other countries—at multicultural concert events. Precisely speaking, few of these instruments are representative for all regions or all ethnic groups of their respective countries. Still, they are generally perceived on the cross-cultural and global level as typical for the entire particular nation.

Although, for example, the so-called *didjeridu* originally was known under the name *Yidiki* among the Yolngu people of Arnhem Land in northeast Australia, and

was played only by men for particular ceremonies, it has become an instrumental icon for all of Australia (Neuenfeldt 1997:VII). Today the *didjeridu* is played around the world also by women at the most diverse occasions and in various ensembles. The Aboriginal musician Kev Carmody has remarked on the political iconography and its symbolic significance for pan-Aboriginality as follows: “People relate to symbols. It’s just like stop signs, give way signs, or coloured lights. Certainly the didj has moved into that area of representation. It’s something that’s unique to this country and certainly they use it. How should I say it, things get subsumed in some ways” (Neuenfeldt 1997:15). For him, values, background, philosophy and heritage are important in musical expression. Non-Aborigines are able to play the instrument, but it is simply sound without spirituality, as Carmody discovered at a concert in Holland: “To me that really exemplified what happens once they move away from the Dreaming place, the geographic place. I can travel all around the world but I’ve still got the sense of place when I play *didj*. To me they were all making good didj noises but there was no spiritual affinity and anchoring of where it should be” (Neuenfeldt 1997:16). As a rule, the Local is connected with a kind of spirituality that is assumed to be on the decline outside of its primary context and in the process of globalization. In the process of acquisition by outsiders, locally marked spirituality becomes—so could one generalize—first a technical, then an aesthetic issue. However, it has also been shown that, for example, British and Irish *didjeridu* players have been able to integrate this instrument into their own music, whether in connection with classic, folk, popular music or jazz, or on the concert stage, in a cellar bar, in a club house, at Stonehenge or on the street.

The localization of the origins of specific instruments can be illustrated with a musical example. Mark Atkins and Janawirri Yiparrka, two Australian musicians, play in a “World Orchestra,” together with Shankar Lal, an Indian tabla player, Kofi Ayivor, a Ghanaian on *djembe*, Dom Um Romão, a Brazilian *berimbau* player, Peter Faßbender, a German flutist, and others whose backgrounds include soul, jazz and gospel music. If the listener has some experience hearing music of different cultures, she would inevitably identify and classify the individual instruments in this World Orchestra according to specific countries: the *didjeridus* stand for Australia, the *tabla* for India, etc. (see Fig. 2).

Christian Scholze, the producer of this CD, comments on it as follows:

“This production was never intended as a political pamphlet [or program]. Yet implicitly, that is what it is. It is a meeting of cultures in mutual respect, merging to create a mode of experience from which an intercultural and non-hierarchical microcosm can develop. We have always believed that an encounter with the unfamiliar, meeting other forms of passion that weave a totally different fabric of time and space, can lead to productive reflections and changes in one’s own life-world and political structures. That belief was confirmed here. Against the backdrop of dispossession, marginalisation and destruction that has been the lot of the indigenous people of Australia, we can only hope that the respect paid by musicians from all over the world to one of the planet’s most ancient culture, which is tangible to all who hear this album, might be taken as a sign of change, however slight. It might even be a sign to those who still cannot



Fig. 2.: *Transcultural Didje and World Orchestra: Janawiri Yiparr-ka and Mark Atkins (didjeridu, Australia), Dom Um Romão (berimbau, Brazil), Kofi Ayivor (djembe, Ghana), Dabid Murray (tenor saxophone, California), Shankar Lal (tabla, India), Peter Faßbender (flutist, Germany), Christiane Niemann (soul, blues and gospel singer), François Castiello (accordion) and Bruno Girard (violin) from the Paris-based group Bratsch. Photo collage from the CD *Ankala & World Orchestra (2000)*; Credits by Network GmbH; Christian Scholze.*

bring themselves to apologise to the Aborigines and who continue to add insult to injury by playing down such cruelty as the forced mass removal of children from their families. We grieve for them" (Ankala & World Orchestra 2000:21).

Conspicuous in this transculturally cast group is the equality of intercultural dialogue of acoustic instruments that has been conceived, one could say, in a "musically democratic" way. This contrasts starkly with many similar productions in which traditional instruments are combined with electronic instruments and play pop, techno or other musical styles. In such productions, traditional instruments must often submit their individuality to a Western musical idea and simply serve a representational function as exotic background music (cf. *Deep Forest*; Paul Simon's *The Saints*, etc.).

## 7. Change of Musical Instruments and Ensembles in the Project of Modernization

Change in musical instruments and their newly imagined world of global forms of expression is marked above all by the "ethnoscape," as used in the sense of Arjun Appadurai. By "ethnoscape" he means "the landscape of persons who constitute the shifting world in which we live: tourists, immigrants, refugees, exiles, guest workers and other moving groups and individuals constitute an essential feature of the world and appear to affect the politics of (and between) nations to a hitherto unprecedented degree" (Appadurai 1998:33).

Modernization is a on-going concept that goes back to the beginning of the Enlightenment:

- the project of Enlightenment has been propagated by philosophers since the 18th century (liberty, equality, fraternity)
- societies are undergoing rapid transformation by economic, social, political, and cultural changes caused by industrialization and rationalization (reason, empiricism)
- modernization is a continuous and open-ended process of individualization, differentiation and specialization
- it is a shift from theocentrism to anthropocentrism (man, nature and technique) and enhances dynamic, forward-looking, and progressive freedom and self-fulfillment
- it is an ideology of technological, rational and cultural progress and development
- and often turns against traditional values.

The move of musical instruments to a new imaginary world of global forms of expression is particularly influenced by an "ethnoscape," in the sense used by the anthropologist Arjun Appadurai. As a fragmentary overview, the reasons for such

changes in instruments and ensembles in the project of modernization can be simplified and summarized as follows:

- Technical change (acoustic to electroacoustic *hurdy gurdy*; Hoelderlin Express). 1997 violin stick/cello, bass; plastic instruments; invention of new instruments (“little star” charango by E. Cavour); e-pianos; keyboard; synthesizer; trash instruments)
- Stylistic change (determined by the technical side of electro-acoustic playing technique; tunings; amplifiers)
- Change in ensemble personnel (polycultural)
- Sound change (new sound in a multicultural expressive style)
- Trend toward forced aesthetization
- Performance change (performances; laser; sound machines [e.g., *River Dance*])
- Conceptional change (concept of cultural lack of physical location)
- Consumption change (time units shortened)
- Increasing significance of mediation through the media and commercial outlets
- Production of music (participation of studios, sampling, mixes, etc.)
- Substitution of traditional instruments for modern ones (clarinet by saxophone, accordion by keyboards, guitar by electric guitar, violin by electric violin, etc.)
- Acceleration of developments (faster beat, acoustic and technical innovations, direct transitions into other styles, breaks)
- Instrumental types become well-known worldwide (dulcimer or *Dudelsack* festivals, samba festivals, festivals dedicated to a particular instrument [e.g., at the Rudolstadt Dance and Folk Festival]).
- Simultaneity of different cultures and styles of development
- Historical revival (historicizing looks backward [middle ages, Renaissance, 19th century] or futuristic looks forward [transglobal world, planetary sounding spaces])
- Commercialization of sound styles and trends (world beat, world music)
- Musical instrument as traditional cliché in entertainment films (wider effect of out of context)
- Musical instrument construction: professionalization and industrialization of musical instruments; profit maximizing through cheapened production methods and stereotyping through Guinness Book of Records (alphorn).

## 8. Musical Instruments in the Global Discourse

With the help of a few musical examples, some stations along the path to modernization in the global age of mass media are proposed here for discussion. The individual cases are not meant to be in a chronological order, but instead should be understood in a structural way. With cooperative efforts and the creative development of ideas, perhaps a transglobal kind of music will evolve, as we have seen in the example of the *didjeridu* World Orchestra. Just by listening to selected musical examples we can

differentiate between many creative and individual concepts of musical constructions. These concepts can be located within the framework of tradition, traditionalism, acculturation, syncretism, multiculturalism or transculture as for example:

*The constructive concept of compartmentalization (syncretistic fusion of traditional folk music and jazz):*

“*Kennst Du net des Fritzengerchle*” (Schottisch). [1:44–2:44]. Frankenbänd, Nuremberg. The first version of this piece is played in a ‘traditional’ manner, then the second one is a jazz version. The ensemble consists of clarinets I/II, violin, C- and F-recorder, mandolin / voice, banjo / voice, 2 guitars / voices, E-Bass / voice, spoons / voice, recorded in 1984. The essentialist view of some local traditionalists claimed that the banjo is not a traditional instrument in the Bavarian context and that the jazz version may not be called “Franconian folk music.” According to the investigations of Alan P. Merriam (1967), compartmentalization is a possible solution within cultural melting, which means the original own music culture lives on unchanged next to the other musical culture. This leads to a bimusicality of its carriers. Both cultures lead an equal existence next to each other and demonstrate accordingly the level of lowest cultural interweaving, a kind of musical bilinguality. In fact, there are musicians who are bimusical, trimusical or often simply musically polyglot. The musical elements are separated and are mixed seldom or not at all with others, also as is shown in the first play-through (in the traditional manner) and in the second play-through (in the jazz manner).

*The constructive concept of minimal music played on native Bolivian instruments:*

No. 5, *Imaraycu* (“Why”). 1:120. CD—*Arawai. The Doctrine of Cycles. The Contemporary Orchestra of Native Instruments*. 1990. Native instruments are used in a new acceptance of the traditional features by the ‘elite’ culture in combination with a kind of minimal music.

*The constructive concept of the use of electroacoustic sound aesthetics and synthetic keyboard music within traditional music (with the impact of the Western tempered tuning system on non-Western musical systems).*

No. 11, “*Antahuara*” (00–1:35). CD *Belen—Chicha*. 1st and 2nd e-guitar, e-bass, timbales, bombo, keyboard (synthetic panflute), voices singing a traditional Bolivian huayno mixed with tropical rhythms in the hybrid expressive music called *chicha*. Any instrument goes in *chicha* music and sounds appear to range through African guitar to country-style mouth harp. Musical styles seem equally unexplained with a hint of rock and roll, zydeco and even *bhangra*. Since 1992 in Cuzco, the convergence of the traditional aesthetic of metal string instruments (*charangos*) and the synthetic sound of keyboard and amplifier are obvious.

*The constructive concept of the use of different ethnic musical instruments in sixteen episodes of Andreas Vollenweider's CD—Book of Roses, 1992.*

Cf. for example No. 2: "The Grand Ball of the Duljas" (00–1:41) Greek hammer dulcimer, Chinese *erhu*, Indian bamboo flute, orchestral percussion, cello, bassoon, Dulja's voices.

Vollenweider uses in his 16 compositions Chinese bamboo flute, Greek hammered dulcimer, Chinese *erhu*, Greek flute, Indian bamboo flute, *charango*, Chinese harp (*cheng*), classical guitar, acoustic slide guitar, electroacoustic guitar, African *kora*, electroacoustic harp, Spanish guitar, Australian clay flute, *sitar* guitar, Slovakian *fujara*, Chinese *pipa*, accordion, acoustic bass, electroacoustic bass, piano, keyboard, hooter, toms, English horn, trombone, bassoon, cello, harmonica, stone percussions, orchestra, drums bass, footsteps, etc. It is an imaging of the world of musical instruments by the composer's means of a soundscape.

*The constructive concept of the aesthetization of traditional musical instruments within the context of Western classical music*

No. 2 "Double Quartet in F, K. 496" (00–1:20) by W.A. Mozart. *CD—Mozart in Egypt, 1999.* Ethno meets Classic. Egyptian *arghul*, *rabab*, *kaval*, *tabla*, *darabuka*, *deff*, clarinet, transverse flute, Arabian song, the Bulgarian Symphony Orchestra are melting the classical harmonic principle of listening with the Oriental linear principle—(cf. also Gasparyan and the Armenian *duduk*; film music).

*The constructive concept of a particular instrument and its local differences in the expression of a global setting*

No. 17 "Magic Dulcimers" (7:30–8:38). *CD—Tanz & FolkFest Rudolstadt 1996.*

Hungarian *cymbalom*, Klezmer *tsimbal*, bowhammer dulcimer (USA), Iranian *santur*, *Hackbrett* of Appenzell (Switzerland), Chinese *yangqin*, *Hackbrett* of Salzburg and German double bass are playing together. It is a melting pot of different versions of a particular instrument in the successive expression of different cultures and performance styles in one musical piece.

*The constructive concept of the clash of musical styles*

No. 2. "Sepp, bleib no do" (00–1:12). Trad. and arr. by Kerberbrothers Alpenfusion. *CD—Deutscher Folk Förderpreis 1998.* Alpine and transglobal Ethno: free jazz, folk, rock, German traditional folk music. Dulcimer, horn, alphorn, trumpet, trombone, zither, double bass, drums, voc. "Free Folk Music means to me to understand the old roots of traditional music, to comprehend its spirit and creatively to follow the inherent sound, here and today to create it in a new way, to bridge the traditional and the individual, composition and improvisation." (Micha Dümpelmann)—compare also Robert Zollitsch — *Folk and Reggae; Africámerican Rap.* — The musical clash of different traditions, styles, instruments and genres is intended.



*The constructive concept of a multicultural musical group with its instruments of different backgrounds*

CD 1, No. 5 “Gypsy Soul.” CD—*Bustan Abraham* (4:00–5:50). Jewish-American–Arab Group. Their instrumentation mixes cultures: Persian *kanun*, Middle Eastern *ud*, Spanish guitar, American banjo, Arabian *darabuka*, European violin, North African framedrum and double bass. Also stylistically this shows an integrative concept, gypsy violin music in combination with Spanish guitar patterns played over a slow Middle Eastern rhythm. The sound expresses the concept of a multicultural performance group with members of different ethnic backgrounds.

*The constructive concept of a cultural transitismo: sampling and the exploration of new sounds beyond time and space*

No. 1 “Legend of Yrch” (2:50–4:00). CD—*The Transglobal & Magic Sounds of László Hortobágyi*, 1999. Elektroacoustic sounds constructed by media technology: sampling, gongs, bells, drones, timeless space–sound, imagination of new sounds and new sound combinations, like *Râgamelan*, baroque *raga*, *kriti*–baroque, trance macabre, etc. An “anything goes” between myth, magic, futurism, psycho–musical expeditions and virtually constructed fakes.

## 9. The Dynamics of Transculturality: Beyond Resistance, Revival, Syncretism, Innovation and Transformation

The current situation shows that modernization—that is, the process of continually striving for something new that breaks out of traditional molds—in connection with media and technical developments across the globe has become an irreversible process. Even at the local level, reaching a consensus on cultural, and particularly on musical, contents seems to have become impossible. The borders between the different cultures, styles and genres have become too porous. “All music is caught between preservation of the old ways and redefinition in the present” (W.A. Mathieu, *Planet Soup* 1995:5). The borderlines between “serious” music and “entertainment” music (as the distinction is still made in the German language), between traditional and experimental expressive forms seem on the one hand to be dissolving. But on the other hand, they are still to be found as separate expressive forms. All processes accelerate under the sign of globalization, which is synonymous with “the crystallization of the entire world as a single place” (Featherstone 1995:230).

In the future, people will probably fight less among themselves about content-related concepts but instead will concentrate on developing appropriate formal processes that contribute to overcoming cultural conflicts (Senghaas 1998). At the same time, it is the market-promoting laws that increasingly influence cultural production and transmission. The concept of modernization that derived from the Age of Enlightenment has turned into several rather simplistic models. These include: sweeping judgments based on the cultural colonialism debate; generalizing criticism of

Fig. 3: CD productions and compilations from different perspectives: (1) *The local perspective*: Kirwa- und Tanzbodenmusik aus dem westlichen Oberpfälzer Jura, 1997 [*parish fair and dance music*]; (2) *regional perspective*: Volksmusik aus Franken, 2000 [*Folk Music from Franconia*]; (3) *national perspective*: Latvian Folksongs, 2000; (4) *cross-national perspective*: Klangfarben der Kulturen, 1998 [*The Timbre of Cultures*]; (5) *'Authentic music' within a global perspective*: Global Meditation, 1992, and Voices of the World, 1996; (6) *transcultural perspectives*: Planet Soup. A Stirring Collection of Cross-Cultural Collaborations & Musical Hybrids, 1995.



music and individual genres from the perspective of Adorno's critical theory; political resistance that derives from a fundamentalist attitude; and a euphoric hymn of praise to the concept of "anything goes." But today these conceptual models related to modernization must be applied in a differentiated way to individual cases. Music, musical instruments and concepts of music-making are based today more than ever on the basic principle of negotiation of values and evaluations. Past and new values are negotiated between musicians of *individual* groups on the one side and producers and listeners on the other. This negotiation of tradition and the modern, of authenticity and syncretism, of resistance or transformation even to the point of commercialization of culture—this negotiation demands specific grounds for decision-making on the part of each musician, for each individual piece.

R. Carlos Nakai, who belongs to the Ute and Navajo tribes, is well versed in his own Indian musical heritage, but he is also by no means a traditionalist. He plays together with Japanese ensembles, American harp guitarists, symphony orchestras, jazz musicians and pianists and with a fusion group. On the topic of negotiation, he has said that he is interested in the oral tradition of his elders (what he calls, "the history of how I came to be here as a person of culture"), but does not feel obliged to continue to "be" them. He wants to define himself on the basis of traditional knowledge and "to include the experiences that I have in the world now as part of that history" (Planet Soup 1995:21).

What is negotiated are not only transmitted values but also issues of hegemony, of aesthetics, of spirituality and of course also of commercialization and copyright. Musical instruments as icons of different concepts of tradition already symbolize in this regard a post-national world on the global level of creative imagination.

This is the paradigm of transnational anthropology announced by the anthropologist Appadurai:

We need to think ourselves beyond the nation. This is not to suggest that thought alone will carry us beyond the nation, or that the nation is largely a thought or an imagined thing. Rather, it is to suggest that the role of intellectual practices is to identify the current crisis of the nation and in identifying it to provide part of the apparatus of recognition for post-national social forms (Appadurai 1998:158).

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